

PAN'S FOLLOWER: BACCIO BANDINELLI'S *VILLANO* STATUE AT THE  
BOBOLI GARDEN

by

KATHRYN FRANCES HALL

(Under the Direction of Shelley Zuraw)

ABSTRACT

In 1558, a statue of a peasant pouring wine out of a barrel stood on top of a large green marble basin on the northeast side of the Boboli Garden in Florence.

Commissioned by Duchess Eleonora di Toledo on her husband's behalf, Baccio Bandinelli's peasant statue represented a character from Virgil's *Georgics*, dressed in contemporary garb. This statue was part of a larger pastoral allegory that presented an Arcadian vision of a land governed by Pan, the god of Nature. Combined with Giorgio Vasari's pastoral allegories at the Palazzo Vecchio, this pastoral program at the Boboli Garden validated Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's title as the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This paper will analyze the artistic, cultural, and political context of the *Villano* commission connecting it to the longstanding history of Medicean pastoral art. Its analysis will elucidate the *Villano* within Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's pastoral patronage.

INDEX WORDS: Cosimo I de' Medici, Eleonora di Toledo, Lorenzo the Magnificent, Leo X, Clement VII, Florence, Boboli Garden, Palazzo Vecchio, Pitti Palace, Virgil, Ovid, Jacopo Sannazaro, *Georgics*, *Eclogues*, Niccolò Tribolo, Baccio Bandinelli, Giovanni di Paolo Fancelli, Jacopo Pontormo, Giorgio Vasari, Pan, Arcadia, pastoral, peasant statue, *villano*, fountain, countryside

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In memory of my beloved grandfather, Dr. J. Floyd Hall.

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PAN'S FOLLOWER: BACCIO BANDINELLI'S *VILLANO* STATUE AT THE  
BOBOLI GARDEN

**Introduction**

Within the Boboli Garden of the Pitti Palace, near the Porta Romana, a peasant statue, made out of Carrara marble stands on an ancient sarcophagus.<sup>1</sup> He is posed as if he is pouring water in place of wine from a barrel (Fig. 1). This peasant statue is in its third location. In 1568, Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici first removed the statue from the Boboli Garden and relocated it to the south end of his villa gardens at Pratolino.<sup>2</sup> In 1773, Grand Duke Leopoldo returned the statue to the Boboli Garden and installed it in its present location.<sup>3</sup>

Originally commissioned for a pastoral artistic program on the northeast side of the garden, the peasant statue was paid for by Duchess Eleonora di Toledo on behalf of

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<sup>1</sup> See Cesare Da Prato, *Firenze ai Demidoff: Pratolino e S. Donato, relazione storica e descrittiva, preceduta da cenni biografici sui Demidoff, che sino dal secolo XVIII esisterono*, (Firenze: Pia Casa di Patronato, 1886), 268. The ancient sarcophagus was not recorded with the statue until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> See Francesco de' Vieri, *Discorsi di M. Francesco de' Vieri, Detto Il Verino Secondo, Citta Fiorentina: Delle meravigliose opere di Pratolino e d'Amore* (Florence: Marescotti, 1586), 54. During his visit to the Pratolino gardens, Francesco de' Vieri wrote that the ancient Greek sarcophagus that the *Villano* stood on top of had a relief of the *Fall of Phaeton*. For information of Duke Francesco's pastoral program at the Pratolino gardens see Suzanne B. Butters, "Pressed Labor and Pratolino: Social Imagery and Social Reality in a Medici Garden" in *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, eds. Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 61-87, 347-361.

<sup>3</sup> See Anthea Brook, "Sixteenth Century 'Genre' Statuary in Medici Gardens and Giambologna's Fontana del Villano" in *Boboli 90: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi per la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione del giardino*, eds. Cristina Acidini Luchinat and Elvira Garbero Zorzi, Convegno internazionale di studi per la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione del giardino (March 9, 1989: Florence, Italy), 2 vols. (Florence: EDIFIR, 1991), 118, for a chronology of the *Villano*'s sixteenth- and seventeenth-century provenance records. Brook cites document Florence, Archivio di Stato (hereafter ASF), Fabbriche 1985, ins. 21, April 30, 1773, for Grand Duke Leopoldo's installation of the statue at the Boboli Garden.

Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (Fig. 2-3).<sup>4</sup> Eleonora asked here favorite court artist, Baccio Bandinelli to design the peasant statue, hereafter called the *Villano*.<sup>5</sup> Bandinelli later assigned his student Giovanni di Paolo Fancelli known as Nanni di Stocco to sculpt the *Villano*. Fancelli sculpted the statue, completed in 1558 after finishing a small grotto called the *Grotticina* for the northeast program from 1553-1555.<sup>6</sup> This grotto intersected a pathway parallel to the garden's northeast wall (Fig. 4).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> In 1584, Stefano Buonsignori completed the map entitled, *Nova pulcherrimae civitatis Florentiae topographi accuratissime delineata* under the patronage of Cosimo I de' Medici's first son, Grand Duke Francesco I. The detail of Buonsignori's map showing the Pitti Palace and Boboli Garden (Fig. 2) is the clearest depiction of the Boboli Garden during Cosimo's reign. Some of the details displayed in Giusto Uten's lunette of the Pitti Palace and garden (Fig. 3) occurred after Cosimo abdicated from the Granducal throne. In 1599, Grand Duke Ferdinando I, Cosimo's second son commissioned seventeen bird's eye views of the Medici villas in a series of lunettes rendered by Giusto Utens, including the Pitti Palace lunette. I will utilize Uten's lunette of the Pitti Palace where appropriate.

<sup>5</sup> Giorgio Vasari says that Eleonora favored Bandinelli over other court artists and for this reason according to Vasari, Bandinelli received several commissions at the Boboli Garden. See Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Ed. with annotations by Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, 1906), VI, 188: "Per queste cose la duchessa di continovo aiutava e favoriva Baccio appresso al duca;.."

<sup>6</sup> A payment document dated January 29-March 25, 1558 is the only commission record for the *Villano*. Fancelli was paid for his work *Villano* along with his work on the *Grotticina*. See ASF, *Scrittorio delle Regie Possessioni 4137 (Libro giallo B di Gran Duchessa Eleonora)*, fols. 252s-252d in Louis Alexander Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court: A Corpus of Early Modern Sources* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 637: "Statue di marmo deon dare a di 29 di gennaio scudi sessanta d'oro in oro si fanno buoni a Giovanni di Pagolo Fancelli scultore et sono per suo servito, anzi per la sua fattura del Villano di marmo fatto a Pitti al Giornale a c. 91 avere in questo c. 120.....fiorini 64.2..." In the *Lives*, Giorgio Vasari says that Bandinelli designed the statue for a fishpond and he links the fishpond with Bandinelli's *Grotticina* program. See Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite*, 1906, VI, 188: "...col modello fatto da sè stesso per un vivaio, un villano che vota un barile pieno d'acqua." Bertha Wiles claims that the *Villano* must be for the fishpond that Vasari designed for the northeast program of the Boboli Garden. See Bertha Wiles, *The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors and their Followers from Donatello to Bernini* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1933), 96. She says that it must be for the "vivaio del villano" listed in the sixteenth-century Medici account books, but she does not cite any specific documents. Claudia Lazzaro supports Wiles argument. See Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy*, Photographs by Ralph Lieberman (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), Appendix IIB. Others associate the statue with the *Grotticina*. See Lita Maria Medri, "Il Cinquecento. Le sculture e le fontane. Allegorie mitologiche e "Villani" nel giardino," in *Il giardino di Boboli*, ed. Lita Maria Medri (Siena: Banca Toscana and Gruppo MPS, 2003), 110 lists commission date as circa 1554; Brook, "Sixteenth Century 'Genre' Statuary," 113.

<sup>7</sup> The pathway that ran from the far northeast corner of the garden to the *Grotticina* followed the property line between the garden and the monastery of Santa Felicità. See Alessandro Rinaldi, "Quattro pitaffi senza le lettere": I primi anni del giardino di Boboli e lo 'Spartimento' del Tribolo" in *Boboli 90*, 19-21 for a discussion.

In the *Lives*, Giorgio Vasari said that Bandinelli designed the *Villano* as a part of a fishpond adorned with peasant statuary. Based on the sixteenth-century Medici account books, this was the same fishpond that Vasari constructed.<sup>8</sup> As the project's supervisor, Vasari installed a large antique green marble basin for the fishpond and built the foundations for a grotto between 1555 and 1560.<sup>9</sup> By 1557, Vasari connected the basin to preexisting pipes from the Santa Felicità farm laid between the far northeast corner and the *Grotticina*.<sup>10</sup> Conceivably, the original draft for the northeastern artistic program included several *villani* statues for the unfinished *vivaio* although Bandinelli's *Villano* is the only known peasant statue commissioned for the fishpond.<sup>11</sup>

Bandinelli and Vasari's projects for the fishpond were part of a larger pastoral allegory of the Tuscan Duchy. The years 1555 to 1565 marked the most prolific period of the Duke and Duchess' patronage. During these years, Cosimo commissioned the Palazzo Vecchio's decoration (1555-1574), built a private corridor between the Pitti Palace and

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<sup>8</sup> See n. 6 for sources linking the *Villano* to Vasari's fishpond. For documentation on Vasari's fishpond see payment document for work on the fishpond from Giorgio Vasari to Michele di Gherardo dated December 2, 1559, ASF, 'Fabbriche', f. 3. C. 36 in Francesco Gurrieri and Judith Chatfield, eds., *Boboli Gardens* (Firenze: Editrice Edam, 1972) 28.

<sup>9</sup> Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, n. 38.

<sup>10</sup> Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, Appendix IIB; Medri, "Il Cinquecento," 110 list the dates from 1555 to 1560. For a discussion of the pipe system see Rinaldi, 21. Giorgio Vasari laid the foundations for the *Grotta Grande*, located next to the entranceway to Vasari's corridor. See Luigi Zangheri, "Vasari e la Grotta Grande," in *Boboli* 90, 397-402. In 1587, under the patronage of Cosimo's son, Francesco I, Bernardo Buontalenti incorporated the large green basin of the fishpond into his plans for a large grotto, the *Grotta Grande* (1583-1593). See Medri, "La Grotta del Buontalenti," in *Il giardino di Boboli*, 96-97. At the far northeast corner, Buontalenti's grotto illustrated an elaborate pastoral narrative from Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1504). At the time of *Grotta Grande*'s construction, Bandinelli's *Villano* was at the Pratolino gardens.

<sup>11</sup> Vasari attributes the design and installation of the fishpond to himself. See Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, Trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere with intro. and notes, David Ekserdjian. 2 vols., 1<sup>st</sup> edition, (*Lives of the Most Eminent Painters Sculptors and Architects by Giorgio Vasari*, 10 vols., London: Macmillan and Co. and the Medici Society, 1912-1914). 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1996), II, 297. Hereafter, I will use this English translation to cite passages from Vasari's *Lives*. See also Gurrieri and Chatfield, *Boboli Gardens*, 27 for the details of the commission.

Palazzo Vecchio (1565), and began restoration on a series of aqueducts (Fig. 5).<sup>12</sup>

Beginning in 1550, the Duchess Eleonora directed the Boboli Garden's artistic program on Cosimo's behalf. Her involvement continued until her death in 1562.<sup>13</sup> Portraying an Arcadian vision of peace and prosperity, their artistic patronage illustrated a carefully constructed pastoral metaphor. Paired with the frescoes and tapestries inside the Palazzo Vecchio, the Boboli Garden's complex program of fountains and statues, exhibited the Duke's dynastic power. Displaying a princely rhetoric like that of the European courts, it reinforced Cosimo's political authority in Tuscany. Ultimately, this pastoral program argued for Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's right to the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany. With this distinction, Florence had precedence over Ferrara in diplomatic ceremonies.<sup>14</sup>

What follows is an analysis of the artistic, cultural, and political context of the *Villano* commission. By linking the statue with a longstanding history of Medicean pastoral patronage, I will elucidate the statue's presence within Cosimo's celebratory pastoral program. In my discussion, "pastoral" designates ideas, themes, and metaphors

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<sup>12</sup> For a summary of Cosimo's artistic patronage, see Janet Cox-Rearick, "Art at the Court of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (1537-1574)" in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence*, ed. Cristina Acidini Luchinat, ex. cat. Detroit Institute of the Arts (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 35-45; Henk Th. Van Veen, *Cosimo I De' Medici and His Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*, Trans. Andrew P. McCormick, Distributed by New York: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001). For information on Vasari's corridor see Leon Satkowski, "The Palazzo Pitti: Planning and Use in the Grand-Ducal Era," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 42, no. 4 (Dec., 1983): 339.

<sup>13</sup> For Eleonora's patronage at the Boboli Garden and Palazzo Vecchio see Bruce L. Edelstein, "La *Fecundissima Signora Duchessa*: The Courtly Persona of Eleonora di Toledo and the Iconography of Abundance" in *The Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo: Duchess of Florence and Siena*, ed. with intro, Konrad Eisenbichler (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 71-97. Also, Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 200.

<sup>14</sup> See Robert Williams, "The Sala Grande in the Palazzo Vecchio," in *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks, 1<sup>st</sup> edition (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 163-81 for a discussion on the precedence controversy over Cosimo's Grand Ducal title. In the early 1560s, Florence and Ferrara fought for their ambassadors' precedence in diplomatic ceremonies. Ferrara argued precedence claiming that the Este family maintained ducal power long before the formation of the Florentine Duchy. Cosimo needed the Grand Ducal title in order to confirm the Florentine court's precedence over Ferrara.

that relate to Cosimo's Golden Age. His Golden Age is an ideal past re-configured as a symbolic present. His Golden Age embodied an Arcadian vision of a land filled with clean air, free-flowing water, abundant harvests, and joyful music.<sup>15</sup>

This Arcadian program derives from a number of literary sources, including classical authors—Ovid, Virgil, Servius, and Macrobius – and also the contemporary poet Jacopo Sannazaro. Cosimo's pastoral art belongs to a Medicean artistic and literary tradition. The first use of both classical and contemporary sources to define a Golden Age was not by Cosimo. In fact, his interest in this type of metaphoric language was surely inspired by the agricultural and hunting villa at Poggio a Caiano. Initiated by Lorenzo the Magnificent's construction of the country residence, Medicean popes Leo X and Clement VII further developed the villa's pastoral allegory. They commissioned frescoes for the villa's main reception hall, the *Salone*. As its inheritors, Eleonora and Cosimo frequented Poggio a Caiano, mostly before they moved into the Pitti Palace (Fig. 6).<sup>16</sup> Married on March 29, 1539, the villa housed the couple before their triumphal entrance into Florence.<sup>17</sup> Poggio a Caiano continued to be a favorite retreat for the Duchess. While

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<sup>15</sup> Other pastoral allegories were built during this same period in Italy. See Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, "Ars Hortulorum: Sixteenth-Century Garden Iconography and Literary Theory in Italy," *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Intro, Henry A. Millon, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks and Trustees for Harvard University, 1994), 89-112. From pages 104-105, MacDougall mentions a program that refers to Virgil's *Georgics* at the Villa Carpi on the Quirinal Hill in Rome, documented as early as 1550.

<sup>16</sup> A discussion on the Pitti Palace purchase and the development of the Boboli Garden will follow.

<sup>17</sup> Cosimo and Eleonora only spent a few days at the villa Poggio a Caiano before entering the city on Florence on June 29, 1539. See Archivio di Stato Mediceo del Principato, filza 337, cc. 134-137, Bernardo Gamberelli a Cosimo I, Napoli, 29 marzo 1539 in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana e Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, *La corte, il mare i mercanti: il rinaschita della scienza; editoria e societ ; astrologia, magia e alchimia*, ex. cat., Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici dell'Europa del Cinquecento series, no. 4 (Firenze: Electra, 1980), 25, n. 5.2. For their time at Poggio a Caiano before the wedding see Andrew C. Minor and Bonner Mitchell, ed., *A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1968), 97-98.

Cosimo attended to political matters, Eleonora often escaped the city to the country villa.<sup>18</sup>

### **Jacopo Sannazaro and the Classical Version of the Pastoral**

Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1504) was the most influential text for Cosimo's pastoral patronage.<sup>19</sup> Experimenting with a new compositional format, Sannazaro integrated chapters of prose in between his eclogues written in a classical format. Drawing inspiration from his understanding of Theocritus' *Idylls*, Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, as well as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the Renaissance Neapolitan writer revived the pastoral eclogue.<sup>20</sup> Sannazaro wrote his pastoral in a classical poetic tradition, replicating the structure of Virgil's *Eclogues*.<sup>21</sup> Like Virgil, Sannazaro's bucolic setting was a metaphor of the contemporary world. Sannazaro employed this imaginative setting as an outlet for self-reflection, celebration, and criticism of Neapolitan culture and politics. In it, he also discussed the history of the pastoral in the classical tradition within the metaphorical space of his text.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See D. R. Edward Wright, "The Boboli Garden in the Evolution of European Garden Design: A Study in Practical Function and Organizing Structure," in *Boboli 90*, 313-14. In her first years living at the Palazzo Vecchio, the pregnant Eleonora complained that her cramped living conditions exacerbated her physical discomfort.

<sup>19</sup> For a brief biography on Jacopo Sannazaro as well as a discussion on the scandal behind the publication of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* see the introduction to Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. with intro, Ralph Nash (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), 7-26.

<sup>20</sup> Ernst A. Schmidt, "Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity," in *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Vergil's Eclogues*, ed. Katharina Volk, 1<sup>st</sup> edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 31 discusses the wide dissemination of Virgil's *Eclogues* in the Renaissance.

<sup>21</sup> Schmidt, "Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity," 32-33. He also discusses Petrarch's influence on Sannazaro's pastoral writing. For an overview Sannazaro's use of the classical pastoral structure and style see William J. Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of Pastoral* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1983).

<sup>22</sup> See Schmidt, "Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity," 47; Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral*, 28-29.

His *Arcadia* established our modern concept of the pastoral.<sup>23</sup> In it, Sannazaro narrates the story of a melancholic speaker in exile who wanders through a pastoral land untouched by time.<sup>24</sup> It is a land that resembles the Golden Age of Saturn from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (8 CE).<sup>25</sup> While wandering through this imaginative space, the protagonist longs to reconnect with the lost past of antiquity.<sup>26</sup> Knowing Ovid's Golden Age is fundamental to one's understanding of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Written after Virgil published the *Eclogues*, Ovid wrote a more detailed description of the Golden Age of Saturn than what Virgil provided in the *Eclogues*. While Virgil recognizes the Golden Age in his text, he does not discuss it. Therefore, one must recall the Ovidian Golden Age in order to understand the Golden Age that Sannazaro longs for.<sup>27</sup> In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid describes this Golden Age and its citizens by saying:

Golden, that first age, which, though ignorant  
of laws, yet of its own will, uncoerced,  
fostered responsibility and virtue;  
men had not fear of any punishment,  
nor did they read of threatened penalties  
engraved on bronze; no through of suppliants  
trembled before the visage of a judge  
or sought protection from the laws themselves.

. . .

Spring was the only season that there was,  
and warm the breath of gentle Zephyr stroked  
flowers that sprang up from the ground, unsown.  
later—though still untilled—the earth bore grain,  
and fields, unfallowed, whitened with their wheat;  
now streams of milk, now streams of nectar flowed,  
and from the green oak, golden honey dripped.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See Schmidt, "Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity," 16-47. Schmidt argues that the concept of Arcadia, a nostalgic space did not exist until Jacopo Sannazaro.

<sup>24</sup> Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral*, 23.

<sup>25</sup> See Ovid, *Metamorphoses: A New Translation, Contexts, Criticism*, trans. and ed. by Charles Martin, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), xxv-xxix for a brief biography on Ovid.

<sup>26</sup> Schmidt, "Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity," 29.

<sup>27</sup> Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral*, 7.

<sup>28</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.

The Golden Age provided a rudimentary and ignorantly blissful form of human existence. Ovid's Golden Age is "of its own free will." Governed by Saturn, the Golden Age lacked any social order organized by man. All men and women were equal.

The bucolic setting in Virgil's *Eclogues* (42-39 BCE), composed of ten poems, does not share the same blissful land of Ovid's Golden Age.<sup>29</sup> It is a place fallen out of the Utopian Golden Age and into a world, as Ovid describes as the Bronze Age, where mankind works for their food. With this man has more responsibility and in part they govern themselves.<sup>30</sup> For Virgil, this bucolic setting is the opposite of the Golden Age. Set in a fantastical rural world, Virgil's narrative parallels the turbulent civil wars of Rome that followed the death of Emperor Julius Caesar. As a metaphor for this period of Roman history, Virgil's ten eclogues grapple with Rome's current political changes through the revolution of its own rural land.<sup>31</sup>

The Golden Age of Saturn does not appear in Virgil's text until *Eclogue IV*. In this eclogue, Virgil imagines a Golden Age of Saturn from the past and prophesies its return with the birth of a leader.<sup>32</sup> Like the Ovidean Golden Age, it too is a "land untilled," with abundant harvests, including corn-crops and blushing grapes.<sup>33</sup> Encompassed in *Eclogue IV* is the idea of Arcadia. Virgil employs the pastoral land as a symbol of poetry. In Virgil, Arcadia is a land from the Golden Age of the past. This land is a poetic microcosm ruled by Pan, the god of Nature where shepherds make music and

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<sup>29</sup> Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral*, 30. For a background on Virgil's *Eclogues*, see Gregson Davis, "Introduction," in Virgil, *Virgil's Eclogues*, trans. Len Krisak from Latin text, P. Vergili Maronis, *Opera*, ed. by R.A.B. Mynors, *Eclogues*, 1969 edition: 1-28, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), vii-xvii.

<sup>30</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8-9.

<sup>31</sup> See David Scott Wilson-Okamura, "Patronage and the *Eclogues*," *Virgil in the Renaissance*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 47-54, on the relationship between Virgil and his patron, Augustus as well as for his commentary on the rise of the Roman Empire.

<sup>32</sup> For *Eclogue IV*, see Virgil, *Virgil's Eclogues*, 30-35.

<sup>33</sup> Schmidt, "Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity," 34-41.

poetry.<sup>34</sup> In *Eclogue II*, Virgil defines Pan as “the first to teach man how to join the syrinx,” meaning music and he also “watches over sheep and shepherds, too.”<sup>35</sup> While he plays his own syrinx or panpipe, Pan promotes the liberal arts of his devoted shepherds. In *Eclogue X*, Virgil calls Arcadians “the last of all the master Singers.”<sup>36</sup> Virgil longs to connect with the Arcadians. He writes, “If only I’d been one of you, guarding your sheep or working in your vineyards rich with ripened grapes!”<sup>37</sup> Interpreting Virgil, Sannazaro describes Arcadia as all that is left of Ovid’s Golden Age.<sup>38</sup> For Sannazaro, Arcadia was the most Utopian realm of this age.<sup>39</sup> The Neapolitan writer hinges the nostalgic and melancholic tone of his own *Arcadia* on Virgil’s definition, a poetic land forever lost.<sup>40</sup>

Despite Sannazaro’s Arcadian metaphor of a lost past, Cosimo’s pastoral patronage claims that the merriment found in the Golden Age may be restored through mankind’s stewardship of the land. In an Age of Bronze, Cosimo’s pastoral patronage promotes Virgil’s *Georgics* (29 BCE) as a guide to bringing back the Golden Age.<sup>41</sup> Written after the turbulent *Eclogues*, Virgil portrays a peaceful land in the four books of this text. Inspired by Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, Virgil’s *Georgics* employed agricultural labor as a metaphor for human life illustrating man’s tie to Nature.<sup>42</sup> Virgil presented

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<sup>34</sup> Schmidt, “Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity,” 43-45; Virgil, *Virgil’s Eclogues*, 35.

<sup>35</sup> Virgil, *Virgil’s Eclogues*, II.13. While Virgil defines Pan in *Eclogue II*, he does not mention Arcadia.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 77.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 77.

<sup>38</sup> Schmidt, “Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity,” 36, n. 63.

<sup>39</sup> Erwin Panofsky, “*Et in Arcadia ego*: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition,” in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*, eds. R. Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 304. See Schmidt, “Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity,” 26, for critique on Panofsky.

<sup>40</sup> Schmidt, “Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity,” 39.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of Virgil’s *Georgics*, see Virgil, *The Georgics of Virgil*, Trans. and ed., David Ferry from Latin text reprinted in Virgil, *Virgil Volume I—Eclogues, Georgics, Aenied*, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 63, Trans. by H. R. Fairclough, 1916 edition (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), xi-xx.

<sup>42</sup> Stephanie A. Nelson, *God and the Land: The Metaphysics of Farming in Hesiod and Vergil*. With a trans. of Hesiod’s *Works and Days* by David Grene (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), v. See Virgil, *The Georgics of Virgil*, 61.

farming as the gateway to understanding humankind's position in the *cosmos*.<sup>43</sup> In his metaphor, Virgil praises Caesar and names him as the god-like leader of the new Golden Age.<sup>44</sup> His prophesy in *Eclogue IV* has been fulfilled. In this land, it argues that one can achieve peace and prosperity through one's obedience to the agricultural farming cycle, affected by Saturn's shift of the seasons. By following Virgil's *Georgics*, the Golden Age can be restored.<sup>45</sup> Relying on Virgil's *Georgics*, at the Boboli Garden, the Duke's patronage represents the Golden Age returned once more.<sup>46</sup>

Situated in the Arcadian landscape inspired by Sannazaro, the *Villano* represents a character out of Virgil's *Georgics*, dressed in contemporary garb. His attire and satchel resembled clothing worn by sixteenth-century laborers who worked in the garden. The fitted cap with flaps protected the workers' heads from the sun while the loosely draped tunic and rolled up leggings allowed them the mobility needed to work the land (Fig. 7).<sup>47</sup>

Unlike the later statues of peasants making music in Bernardo Buontalenti's *Grotta Grande* based on Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, Bandinelli's *Villano* is not in a state of blissful ignorance (Fig. 8). He does not live in a land of untilled fields. Instead, he is a testament to the *Georgic's* underlying motto, "Labor conquers everything."<sup>48</sup> While the abundance of wine celebrates the fruits of his labor, his worn face calls attention to the

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<sup>43</sup> Nelson, *God and the Land*, viii.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

<sup>45</sup> See Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 74; 132-133, for a discussion on the importance of the farmer in the pastoral art and literature. This paper relies heavily on the resources and argument provided by Janet Cox-Rearick. Her book is fundamental to our understanding of the connection between the pastoral art of Cosimo I de' Medici and that of his ancestors.

<sup>46</sup> An in depth discussion of Cosimo's pastoral patronage will follow.

<sup>47</sup> Breaks at the peasant's ankles and a clean vertical cut at the bottom of the peasant's tunic suggest that there were problems with the statue's removal and transportation. I would like to thank Dr. Shelley Zuraw for pointing out the missing bottom portion of the *Villano's* tunic. A closer analysis of the feet and base suggest that the base and tree stump might be additions made when the statue was moved to the Boboli Garden.

<sup>48</sup> Wilson-Okamura discusses his citation of Virgil's *Georgics I.145* in *Virgil in the Renaissance*, 77.

physical work that is required to produce the wine. As the product of his labor pours from his barrel, his turned head and upward glance reveals that his attention is directed to the watchful eye of the gods. Out of fear and reverence, he looks up acknowledging his position in the *cosmos* as Nature's steward. With a look of concern, his well-defined brow and the creases in his face suggest that the peasant is conscious of the instability of the future and the possibility of unforeseen natural disasters (Fig. 9).

Bandinelli's naturalistic rendering combined with Fancelli's sculptural interpretation emphasized the statue's mortal character. According to Heikamp, Baccio Bandinelli spent time at his farm drawing the peasants that worked the fields.<sup>49</sup> Such studies may well have influenced the powerful realism of the figure. Exemplified by the tautness of the peasant's veins, the raw naturalism of the statue's physical characteristics displayed the wear and tear of a day of farming. With sunken eyes and creases around his mouth, the peasant was no idyllic farmer. His veristic appearance harkened back to statues of rustics found in Roman and Hellenistic gardens.<sup>50</sup> The most common type of ancient genre statue was a male plebian, barefoot, wearing a loincloth and carrying either a basket or vessel (Fig. 10).<sup>51</sup> Bearded or clean-shaven, the antique peasant exhibited a similar gaunt face and wrinkles. Revealing the physical stress of manual labor, their collarbones protruded and their veins bulged out of their skin. To understand the meaning of Bandinelli's odd, classical yet naturalistic figure, it is necessary to understand the

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<sup>49</sup> See Detlef Heikamp, "'Villani' di marmo in giardino" in *Il giardino d'Europa: Pratolino come modello nella cultura europea*, ed. Alessandro Vezzosi (Milano: Gabriele Mazzotta, 1986), 63. Heikamp refers to a group of Bandinelli's drawings in the Louvre, but does not list any form of identification for them.

<sup>50</sup> Brook, "Sixteenth Century 'Genre' Statuary," 116-117.

<sup>51</sup> H. P. Laubscher, *Fischer Und Landleute: Studien Zur Hellenistischen Genreplastik*, (Mainz Am Rhein: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 1982), 85-91.

political world of its patron, Duke Cosimo before understanding its location within his pastoral patronage.

### **Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's Rise to Power**

Five years after the institution of the Duchy of the Florentine Republic, Duke Alessandro de' Medici was assassinated on January 6, 1537 by his cousin, Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco who fled the city-state. After his death, there was no direct descendant of Cosimo the Elder. As the only legitimate heir, council members chose the son of the famous *condottiero*, Giovanni de' Medici, called "delle Bande Nere" and Maria Salviati, legacy of Lorenzo the Elder. Named by his godfather, Pope Leo X, Cosimo I de' Medici bore the name of the Medici patriarch, Cosimo the Elder.<sup>52</sup>

Young and ill prepared, Cosimo accepted a Florentine governmental position in an unstable political environment.<sup>53</sup> On January 9, 1537, the *Magistrato Supremo* and the Florentine Senate installed seventeen-year-old Cosimo I de' Medici as "capo e primario." In this position, Cosimo served as figurehead of the Florentine government with little political agency for a short period, Cosimo's advisors ruled Florence behind his façade. In August 1537, Cosimo defeated the anti-Medicean and Republican forces led by Filippo Strozzi at the Battle of Montemurlo. With this victory he proved himself worthy of a ducal title. In September 1537, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V installed Cosimo as

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<sup>52</sup> For summary of the fall of the Florentine Republic, the institution of the Duchy, and Duke Alessandro's rise to power see John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence: 1200-1575* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 461-468. Alessandro was the son of Pope Clement VII.

<sup>53</sup> See J. N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic: 1512-1530*, printed in US by New York: Oxford University Press (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), for the history of transition between the Florentine Republic and the Florentine Duchy.

Duke of Florence making the Florentine council powerless.<sup>54</sup> As Duke, Cosimo's political reforms emulated the leadership of Augustus. His council members held figurehead positions as part of the Medici aristocratic court. Immune to any laws enacted by the Florentine Senate and *Magistrato Supremo*, Cosimo declared *de facto* legislative sovereignty. With this right, he made all final legislative decisions. He also granted himself oversight over all governmental activities by issuing individual edicts called *bandis*. Discouraged by the lack of loyalty of his first advisors, Cosimo appointed foreign notaries and officials from the countryside as his closest advisors called the *auditori*. Acting on his behalf, they represented the Duke in all of the magistracies and Senate meetings with the power to override all decisions made by city officials.<sup>55</sup>

Under this new governmental structure, Cosimo developed the first Tuscan *principato* despite a long-standing division between the Tuscan territories. Since the early thirteenth century, the city of Florence relied on the *contado*, the countryside for goods, infantry, and public funding from property taxation.<sup>56</sup> Preying on the vulnerability of smaller Tuscan city-states the Duke united Tuscany exercising his diplomatic connections provided by Eleonora's family, the French and Spanish Hapsburgs.<sup>57</sup> In 1557, with the assistance of Charles V, Cosimo was able, by negotiation, not warfare, to take over control of Siena. This city was historically one of Florence's most persistent Tuscan

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 466-468; See Henk Th. Van Veen, *Cosimo I De' Medici and His Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*, trans. Andrew P. McCormick, distributed by New York: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-2.

<sup>55</sup> Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 468-75.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 47-48, 96-97. For information on politics in the *contado* see Gregory Hanlon, *Human Nature in Rural Tuscany: An Early Modern History* (New York: Palgrave Mac Millan, 2007).

<sup>57</sup> Cosimo's marriage to Eleonora, daughter of Don Pedro di Toledo, the Viceroy of Naples to Charles V strengthened the Duke's international relations.

rivals.<sup>58</sup> As he acquired new territory, Cosimo standardized legislation dissolving social boundaries between urban and country residents. Recognizing that the *contado* contained useful supporters, he extended his diplomacy to rural areas. Under Cosimo's Duchy, Florentines and members of the *contado* had equal rights, including the right to vote.<sup>59</sup> After gaining more rights within the Duchy's political sphere, members of the *contado* championed the Duke.

### **Benefactor of the Arts**

While the different territories maintained their separate identities, Cosimo presented the Duchy in his artistic patronage as a seamless and prosperous territory by enlisting the state's best scholars, poets, and artists. In February 1541, Cosimo transformed the private debating society of the *Accademia degli Umidi* into a distinguished literary institution called the *Accademia Fiorentina*.<sup>60</sup> Members included Luca Martini, the *Provveditore*, Niccolò Tribolo, Benvenuto Cellini, and Baccio Bandinelli.<sup>61</sup> With access to the Medici's library of classical texts, the *accademici* wrote poetry, prose, and developed artistic programs championing Duke Cosimo. In 1562, Cosimo founded the *Accademia del Disegno* for architects, painters, and sculptors. In their statutes, the design academy labeled the Duke as a "benevolent father and man of

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<sup>58</sup> See Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries 1527-1800. A History of Florence and the Florentines in the Age of the Grand Dukes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 13-92 for a summary of Cosimo's succession.

<sup>59</sup> Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 468-475.

<sup>60</sup> Andrea Gáldy, *Cosimo I de' Medici as Collector: Antiquities and Archaeology in Sixteenth-century Florence*, (Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 6; For information on the academies, see Judith Bryce, "The Oral World of the Early Accademia Fiorentina," *Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1995), 77-103.

<sup>61</sup> Detlef Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti nella Firenze del' 500," in *Il Vasari*, 15 (1957), 141-145.

the arts.” At the request of Cosimo, the *Accademia del Disegno* was active in civic projects such as engineering and public works.<sup>62</sup>

Through his commissions, Cosimo defined the ducal standards for literature and art in Florence.<sup>63</sup> Vasari refers to Cosimo’s patronage as evidence of ‘his nation’s polished culture’ through a princely rhetoric comparable to that of other European courts.<sup>64</sup> As part of this princely rhetoric, his court of artists immortalized the Duke by connecting the Duke with a Republican past. The restoration project of the Augustan aqueducts and several fresco panels within the Palazzo Vecchio portrayed the Duke as a new Augustus Caesar. In the ceremonial hall of the Palazzo Vecchio called the *Sala Grande*, Vasari depicted the Roman Triumvirate: Octavian, Mark Anthony, and Lepidus, as the founders of Florence on the ceiling connecting the city’s origins with the *Pax Romana*.<sup>65</sup> In the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari employs the astrological sign of the Capricorn,

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<sup>62</sup> Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: the Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8-9, 23-59, 143-214; Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 481-482.

<sup>63</sup> For information on Cosimo’s pursuit of education see, Dale Kent, *Cosimo de’ Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron’s Oeuvre* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 33. Cosimo declared the Tuscan vernacular as the official language of the Duchy. The Tuscan vernacular gained popularity through his financial contributions to publishing companies and schools.

<sup>64</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Ragionamenti* in J. L. Draper, *Vasari’s Decoration in the Palazzo Vecchio: The Ragionamenti*, trans. with an intro. and notes, Ph.D Diss. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1973), 150.

<sup>65</sup> For a brief discussion of the Foundation of Florence panel see Felicia Marlene Else, *Water and Stone: Ammannati’s Neptune Fountain as Public Ornament*, Ph.D. diss., (St. Louis, MO: Washington University, May 2003), 229; for Florence’s foundation and its relation to the ancient aqueducts, Else, 227-232. For different narratives of the foundations of Florence from the medieval to the end of the fifteenth century see Nicolai Rubinstein, “The Beginnings of Political Thought in Florence. A Study in Medieval Historiography,” *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), 198-227. For information on the *Sala Grande* program see Henk Th. Van Veen, “Circles of Sovereignty: The Tondi of the Sala Grande in the Palazzo Vecchio and the Medici Crown” in *Vasari’s Florence*, 206-219.

not just as a symbol of Duke Cosimo, but also to associate the reign of Cosimo with that of Augustus. He writes:

Just as [the Capricorn] effected Augustus's reign all over the world, it is also seen working daily in His Excellency, magnifying him that he grows in greatness and is all but King of Tuscany.<sup>66</sup>

Like Virgil prophesied in *Eclogue IV*, the leadership of Cosimo was prosperous just as Augustus brought forth an era of peace, a return of the Golden Age. More specifically, Cosimo's Golden Age celebrated artistic achievement and the merits of his artistic court. It was not merely the return of the Golden Age, but also the return to Arcadia.

Crediting the artistic efforts displayed through his patronage, Cosimo was the first Florentine leader to immortalize his court of artists. He devoted an entire frescoed tondo to the subject: *Cosimo I with his Architects, Engineers and Sculptors* in the Room of Cosimo I at the Palazzo Vecchio (Fig. 11).<sup>67</sup> Designed by Giorgio Vasari with the literary guidance of Cosimo Bartoli, the tondo is one of four *tondi* that flank the central ceiling panel depicting *Cosimo's Victory at Montemurlo*. Collectively, these *tondi* by Vasari distinguish the defining moments of Cosimo's reign.<sup>68</sup> The tondo of Cosimo and artists reflects the same composition as two other *tondi* featured in other rooms within the Apartment of Leo X: *Cosimo Vecchio surrounded by Artists and Scholars* and *Lorenzo il Magnifico amongst his Scholars*. In each tondo, members of the liberal arts, employed by the Medici surround the seated patron. The repetition of this composition linked Cosimo with the artistic patrimony of his ancestors. In the tondo of Cosimo and artists, the

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<sup>66</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 169. Janet Cox-Rearick pointed out this connection in *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 257.

<sup>67</sup> In turn, Vasari notes in the *Ragionamenti* that "... true poets and writers never cease offering their works, dedicating them to the memory of great princes to make them immortal, as is now happening to our duke." In Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 150.

<sup>68</sup> See Alessandro Cecchi and Ugo Muccini, "The Room of Cosimo I," *The Apartments of Cosimo in the Palazzo Vecchio*, intro. Antonio Paolucci (Firenze: Casa Editrice, Le Lettere, 1991), 139-147.

Duke's large stature commands attention. With his right hand, he delegates, while with the other he holds a caliper and a square. These draftsman's tools in his left hand recognize his active participation as leader and commander in the commissioned projects. Surrounding him on either side, Vasari identified the other nine figures: Tribolo, il Tasso, Nanni Unghero, San Marino, Vasari, Baccio Bandinelli, Bartolomeo Ammannati, Benvenuto Cellini, and Francesco di Ser Jacopo. Some of these men hold objects that reveal their identities. Others have their names inscribed in Latin. As added emphasis, some are identified by name and by attribute. For example, Tribolo, front left holds a model for fountains designed by him for Cosimo's villa at Castello. He also wears his name on his sash.<sup>69</sup> It was this group of artists who Cosimo employed to recreate a golden Arcadia at the Boboli Garden. The Duke's pastoral program not only allegorized the new, glorious Medici rule, it also recalled the equally glorious Medici past.

### **Lorenzo the Magnificent's Use of the Pastoral at the Medici Villas**

The longstanding patronage evoked by Duke Cosimo harkened back to the pastoral commissions of his ancestor, Lorenzo the Magnificent. In the fifteenth century, Lorenzo the Magnificent developed the tenets of his pastoral art and literature at the family's villa at Careggi.<sup>70</sup> After purchasing the villa in 1417, the Medici patriarch, Cosimo the Elder founded the Platonic Academy on its grounds. Renovated by

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<sup>69</sup> See Chandler Kirwin, "Vasari's Tondo of 'Cosimo I with His Architects Engineers and Sculptors' in the Palazzo Vecchio. Typology and Re-Identification of Portraits," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 15, Bd., H. 1 (1971), 105-122, especially 108. Kirwin gives a detailed analysis of the ambiguous identification of some of the tondo's figures.

<sup>70</sup> See introduction for a history of Lorenzo's poetry and time spent at the Villa Careggi in Lorenzo de' Medici, *Lorenzo de' Medici: Selected Poems and Prose*, ed. Jon Thiem, trans. John Thiem and others (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 5-29. For Lorenzo's explanation of his use of the Tuscan vernacular in his poetry and Platonic philosophy see, Lorenzo de' Medici, *The Autobiography of Lorenzo de' Medici the Magnificent: A Commentary on my Sonnets*, trans. with intro. James Wyatt Cook (Burlington, NY: Medieval Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), 1-30. For the role of melancholy in Lorenzo's poetry see André Chastel, "Melancholia in the Sonnets of Lorenzo de' Medici," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 8 (1945): 61-67.

Michelozzo, the villa resembled a fortress with a loggia that overlooked a working farm and enclosed garden.<sup>71</sup> As a supporter of Careggi's Platonic Academy, Lorenzo the Magnificent adopted the Medicean persona of "Pan Medicus," ruler of Arcadia.<sup>72</sup> Marsilio Ficino's translation follows Servius' interpretation found in his commentary of Virgil's *Eclogues*. Servius defines Pan as a universal god who controls the cycles of time.<sup>73</sup> In the fourth Canto of Lorenzo's Platonic poem, *De summo bono*, Lorenzo defines Pan as the god who rules "over all that's born and dies." James Kiel Coleman suggests that Lorenzo is most likely referring to Marsilio Ficino's translation of the Orphic Hymn to Pan. In Greek, Pan means "all" and in Ficino's translation of the hymn, he interprets Pan as the god of "the whole world" and also "lord of the world."<sup>74</sup>

Under the alias of "Pan Medicus," Lorenzo contributed Arcadian poetry to a literary cult dedicated to Pan.<sup>75</sup> With the philosopher, Marsilio Ficino at its head, the group promoted the ideas of Platonism. Lorenzo's literary cult practiced poetic theology while writing their own poetry; they believed that they could connect with the divine

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<sup>71</sup> See Isabella Lapi Ballerini, *The Medici Villas: Complete Guide*, with a text by Mario Scalini (Firenze: Giunti Gruppo Editoriale, 2003), 75-77 for an overview of the villa at Careggi.

<sup>72</sup> For Cox-Rearick's discussion of "Pan Medicus" see *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 83-86. Cox-Rearick says that Lorenzo's "Pan Medicus" comes from Virgil, *Eclogue*, II, a god who cares for the shepherds and sheep. See also, André Chastel, "Pan Saturnius," *Arte e umanesimo a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo di Magnifico. Studi sul Rinascimento e sull'umanesimo platonico*, trans. into Italian by Renzo Federici, first edition, 1959 (Torino: Einaudi, 1964), 368-377. Chastel reveals the conflation between Pan and Saturn through Luca Signorelli's *Realm of Pan*, commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici in ca. 1490.

<sup>73</sup> Cox Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 84-85 for a discussion on Servius' commentary on *Eclogue* II. Virgil's contemporary, Servius wrote commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. His commentary was the most published and accepted in the Renaissance. Many of the Renaissance interpretations of Virgil's texts derived from Servius' commentary. See David Wilson-Okamura, "Servius and Donatus: The Authority of Antiquity," *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 31-34; Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral*, 32-33 for information on Servius and the publication of Servius in the Renaissance.

<sup>74</sup> Lorenzo de' Medici, *Lorenzo de' Medici, De summo bono*, p. 78, IV.6. Lorenzo's poem is an explanation of Platonic thought. It praises Arcadia as a contemplative space for self-reflection, see IV.1-9. James Kiel Coleman, *Orphic Poetics and the Intellectual Life of Lorenzo de' Medici's Circle*, Ph. D. diss. (Yale University, December 2010), 79 first mentioned this line. The Orphic Hymns are a collection of religious poems written in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period.

<sup>75</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 84-85.

through the process of poetic composition.<sup>76</sup> In their poems, they constructed elaborate pastoral and classical metaphors that expressed their opinions and thoughts. In Plato's conclusion of his *Republic*, Plato argued that the absolute power of a philosopher-king was better than a government led by a group of people. This idea supported Lorenzo's image as the philosopher-king, which the literary cult encouraged.<sup>77</sup> Exemplifying this idea in 1480, Lorenzo celebrated the imaginary world of the pastoral on the feast day of his family's patron saints, Saints Cosmas and Damien.<sup>78</sup> As pastoral leader, on this day, he revived the ancient Saturnalia, a festival celebrating Saturn as described by Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* (395 CE). Restoring the ancient festival as Macrobius described it, Lorenzo invited the local peasantry to his villa at Careggi where they interacted freely with upper-class citizens. Blurring the lines of social strata, the ancient Saturnalia festival celebrated the utopian existence of mankind during the Golden Age of Saturn. As Macrobius noted, in the Age of Saturn, the distinction between slavery and freedom did not exist.<sup>79</sup> Although following the traditions of the Saturnalia, the custom called attention to the mankind's alternative existence under Lorenzo's authority. When the feast day ended, the social hierarchy was restored. Lorenzo was absolute ruler and the rest of the festival attendants were his subjects.

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<sup>76</sup> Coleman, *Orphic Poetics and the Intellectual Life of Lorenzo de' Medici's Circle*, 1-2.

<sup>77</sup> See Ibid, "Lorenzo de' Medici, Political Power, and Orphic Wisdom," 66-131 for a complete discussion of Lorenzo de' Medici's literary circle and his use of Platonism.

<sup>78</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty Destiny in Medici Art*, 133-134.

<sup>79</sup> Macrobius published the six books of the *Saturnalia* in 395 CE as a dialogue between members of the Roman nobility. These men reference a number of literary sources for the traditions that they discuss while ultimately praising Virgil's writings. For information on Macrobius and his *Saturnalia* see Robert A. Kaster, "Introduction," in Macrobius, *Saturnalia: Books 1-2*, Ed. and trans. by Robert A. Kaster (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2011), xi-lxii. For a description of the Saturnalia festival see Macrobius, I, 77. See also Cox-Rearick's discussion of Lorenzo and his literary circle's relationship to Saturn in *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 133-134.

Towards the end of his life, Lorenzo designed his own villa. In 1474, Lorenzo purchased farmland, but only began construction on the villa at Poggio a Caiano in the 1480s. As argued by Janet Cox-Rearick, this villa illustrated Lorenzo's motto, *Le temps revient*, meaning "the Great Age Returns."<sup>80</sup> At Poggio a Caiano, the villa program displayed the return of the Golden Age through Medici governance. Out in the countryside, Lorenzo's villa was conducive to living out an Arcadian fantasy. Unfortunately for Lorenzo, he did not live long enough to see the villa's completion. With his death in 1492 and the Medici's expulsion from the Florentine Republic in 1494, the villa was abandoned, remaining unfinished until the late-sixteenth century. Subsequent members of the Medici family, namely Pope Leo X and Pope Clement VII took it upon themselves to cultivate Lorenzo's pastoral motto within the villa's interior.<sup>81</sup>

### **Jacopo Pontormo's *Vertumnus and Pomona***

In 1520, Pope Leo X, the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent was patron of the main hall, the *Salone*, of the villa at Poggio a Caiano. His distant cousin, Ottaviano de' Medici supervised an intricate decorative program for the main hall. In December 1521, work on the program ceased with Leo X's death and it was later resumed under Pope Clement VII.<sup>82</sup> Developed by humanist Paolo Giovio, the program connected the Medici family with great political figures from Roman antiquity. With large frescoed walls, commissions went to several different artists. Ottaviano assigned Andrea del Sarto and Francesco Franciabigio, the bottom walls, commissioning scenes from Roman antiquity. These scenes connected the Medici dynasty with historical figures whose fame

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<sup>80</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 77-83.

<sup>81</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 65. The date of construction is unknown. For a study of the villa and property at Poggio a Caiano, see Philip Ellis Foster, *A Study of Lorenzo de' Medici's villas at Poggio a Caiano*, PhD diss. (Yale University, May 1974).

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 87-116 for the artistic program inside the *Salone*.

derived from acts of civic virtue. Featured in lunettes on either side of the barrel-vaulted ceiling, Giovio's program called for illustrations of *Hercules and Fortuna in the Garden of Hesperides* and *Vertumnus and Pomona* on the right, originally assigned to the Florentine Mannerist, Jacopo Pontormo (Fig. 12).<sup>83</sup> Pontormo completed the *Vertumnus and Pomona* fresco in 1521 leaving the other lunette blank. In 1537, Cosimo stopped the *Salone*'s decoration and covered up Franciabigio and Andrea del Sarto's unfinished frescoes with tapestries of hunting scenes by the Flemish artist, Giovanni Stradano.<sup>84</sup>

Pontormo's lunette of *Vertumnus and Pomona* was the only fresco visible in the room during Cosimo's reign. Painted around a central ocular window, Pontormo exercised his creative license by inserting other figures into Ovid's narrative. In the myth, Vertumnus attempts to gain entrance into the garden of the wood nymph, Pomona and ultimately to her heart.<sup>85</sup> On the far left, as described in the *Metamorphoses*, Vertumnus looks longingly over at the wood nymph, Pomona, on the far right who is holding a vine pruner. Taking the form of a reaper with a basket full of barley ears, Pontormo depicts Vertumnus in one of the many rustic disguises he employed in his attempts to enter Pomona's garden.

In Pontormo's fresco, there are several other rustic figures in between Vertumnus and Pomona who do not fit into Ovid's narrative. These rustic-looking figures are more reminiscent of the shepherds in Virgil's *Eclogues* or farmers in the *Georgics* than the

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<sup>83</sup> For mention of the *Salone* program in Vasari's discussion of del Sarto, Franciabigio, Feltrini, and Pontormo see Giorgio Vasari, *Lives*, Trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere, I, 840-841, 921-922, 928-929; II, 353, 363.

<sup>84</sup> From 1578 to 1582, Alessandro Allori painted the unfinished *Hercules and Fortuna in the Garden of Hesperides* for Cosimo's son, Francesco I. See Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 89-97 for a discussion on Allori's work on the *Salone*. See also Elizabeth Cropper, "Pontormo and Bronzino in Philadelphia: A Double Portrait," in *Pontormo, Bronzino, and the Medici: The Transformation of the Renaissance Portrait in Florence*, ed. Carl Brandon Strehlke, ex. cat. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Nov. 20, 2004-Feb. 13, 2005 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2004), 8-11.

<sup>85</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 400-402; Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 120-127.

immortal gods in Ovid's narrative. In his commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues*, Servius interprets Virgil's characters as lowly peasants. He says, "The characters are country people (*rusticae*), and there is nothing citified (*urbanum*) in them, or oratorical (*declamatorium*)."<sup>86</sup> With prevalent circulation of Servius' commentary during the fifteenth century, one can reasonably assume that Pontorno and his audience may have borrowed this interpretation of Virgil's shepherds from Servius.<sup>87</sup>

In her discussion of Lorenzo's literary interests, Janet Cox-Rearick suggests that Pontorno's allegory celebrated the abundant and eternal rule of the Medici dynasty, alluding to Lorenzo's motto, *Le temps revient*.<sup>88</sup> Mentioned in Giovio's *Dialogo della impresa*, the Latin word GLOVIS appears below the oculus as a clue to the lunette's cryptic meaning. As the motto of Pope Clement VII, when flipped it says "SI VOLG[E]," meaning to turn.<sup>89</sup> Read together with Lorenzo's motto referring to the return of the Golden Age, GLOVIS enhances the motto's meaning by suggesting the revolution of time and, therefore when understood to be a Medici motto, the perpetuation of Medici rule. As a pastoral pastiche, the rustics in alternating active and passive poses represent

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<sup>86</sup> The quotation is from Wilson-Okamura's translation of Servius' commentary on Virgil's *Eclogue 1* in Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, 74. Virgil's contemporary, Servius wrote commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. His commentary was the most published and accepted in the Renaissance. Many of the Renaissance interpretations of Virgil's texts derived from Servius' commentary. See David Wilson-Okamura, "Servius and Donatus: The Authority of Antiquity," *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 31-34; Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral*, 32-33 for information on Servius and the publication of Servius in the Renaissance.

<sup>87</sup> Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral*, 32-33 for information on Servius and the publication of Servius in the Renaissance.

<sup>88</sup> For a discussion regarding the lunette's embodiment of Lorenzo's motto, see Cox-Rearick *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 117-127.

<sup>89</sup> P. Giovio, *Dialogo delle imprese militari e amorose* (Rome, 1556), p. 26-27. For a discussion of Pope Clement VII's motto, see Erkinger Schwarzenberg, "Glovis, impresa di Giuliano de' Medici," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 39. Bd., H. 1 (1995), 140-166.

the regenerative cycle of time, embodying the sun, the moon, and the seasons, both as allegories of time personified by classical mythological deities.<sup>90</sup>

In support of this theory, above the oculus, there lies a second inscription, “STVDIV[M] QVIBVS ARVA TVERI” painted as if it were written on a tablet. As an excerpt from Virgil’s proem to the *Georgics*, the inscription reads, “O gods and goddesses all, whose love guards our fields.” It thus, describes the watchful eye of the gods.<sup>91</sup> By representing these gods in the guise of rustics, Pontormo signifies the intrinsic link between the gods and the seasonal labors of the farmers as they work together, emblematic of the cycle of time. Each figure represents a different component of the cycles of time just as Virgil discusses in the *Georgics*. Old and gaunt with dirty hands and feet, Vertumnus represents Winter. Above him, signifying Day, Pontormo depicts the nude sun god, Apollo with youthful wavy hair. In an action reminiscent of awaking to the rising sun, he sits on a wall stretching high into the air with his left arm ready to prune the laurel tree.<sup>92</sup> To his left, as an allegory of a bacchic Autumn, a young man in a purple jacket reclines with a sowing bag. The sowing bag refers to the labor of September. Mirroring Autumn’s action, Summer in the guise of a rustic handmaid reclines with her back turned to the viewer. Just above the allegory of Summer, Diana/Ceres, the goddess of the moon sits casually with one leg dangling over the edge. Wearing a blue, white, and red garment with poppies in her hair, the moon goddess signifies Night. At the far right,

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<sup>90</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 126.

<sup>91</sup> Virgil, *The Georgics of Virgil*, trans. by David Ferry (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux) p.3-5. Matthias Winner, “Pontormo und die Medici in Poggio a Caiano,” *Sitzungsberichte Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 12 (1963-64), 9-10 first connected the inscription to Virgil’s text; Larry J. Feinberg is Patrick G. and Shirley W. Ryan, “Lesser Gods: Pontormo’s fluid mind engaging humour are revealed in two newly discovered drawings for decorative schemes commissioned by Medici...” *Apollo* (1 Jan. 2007) [www.apollo-magazine.com/january-2007/67286/lesser-gods.html](http://www.apollo-magazine.com/january-2007/67286/lesser-gods.html), Accessed: 21 June 2012.

<sup>92</sup> For a discussion on the importance of the laurel tree in Lorenzo’s patronage see Lorenzo de’ Medici, *Lorenzo de’ Medici: Selected Poems and Prose*, 6.

Pomona representing Spring also wearing peasant's clothing promotes renewal with her vine pruner.<sup>93</sup> An inscription at the upper right side reveals a third, invisible and omniscient god. It reads "IVP P," meaning Jupiter the Father. His invisibility highlights Jupiter's watchful rule over the other gods in the painting.<sup>94</sup>

Based on the cycles of time as described in Virgil's *Georgics*, Pontormo's novel lunette of rustics inspired a whole tradition of pastoral representation in Medici patronage. Members of Duke Cosimo's court of artists, including Vasari replicated Pontormo's allegories of the seasons in their own ducal commissions. Inspired by villa culture, Pontormo's creative pastiche of Ovid and Virgil's texts created a platform for artistic license. From the very beginning of the pastoral in literature as found in Virgil's *Eclogues*, the imaginative landscape of the pastoral encouraged experimentation and the use of metaphor. Pontormo's lunette demonstrated that poetic license was not limited to literature, but could also be expressed through painting. Artists such as Giorgio Vasari, Niccolò Tribolo, and Baccio Bandinelli demonstrated that they could also execute the pastoral mode of representation in other mediums, such as sculpture and tapestry illustrations.

### **The Pastoral Program of the Room of Ops**

In December 1554, Vasari began the supervision of the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio. He constructed a thematic scheme for the entire palace, dividing the floors into hierarchical realms.<sup>95</sup> On the *piano nobile*, he dedicated the rooms to the "illustrious men

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<sup>93</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 122-127, 139-142.

<sup>94</sup> J. Kliemann, "Vertumnus und Pomona: Zum Programm von Pontormos Fresko in Poggio a Caiano," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XVI (1972), 325.

<sup>95</sup> See Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e I Medici: Guida Storica*, (Firenze: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1980) for a complete list of source documents as well as descriptions of the Palazzo Vecchio's interior decorations.

of the Medici house.”<sup>96</sup> On the topmost floor, he illustrated the myths of the celestial gods. With the literary advice of Cosimo Bartoli, in December 1555, he designed eight different programs for the rooms in the *Quartiere degli Elementi* located at the southeast corner of the palace.<sup>97</sup> This group of rooms illustrated the narrative of Saturn, Ops, and their offspring, with Cosimo identified as Saturn and Eleonora as Saturn’s bride, Ops.<sup>98</sup> Depicted with a sickle in one hand and a bundle of wheat in the other, the image of the agricultural god Saturn connected the Duke with the *villani* and the land, asserting his authority over the countryside. By controlling the seasonal harvests, Saturn, leader of the Golden Age, ruled a land of peace and prosperity.<sup>99</sup>

Published posthumously in 1588, Vasari wrote the *Ragionamenti* as a supplementary guide to his *Lives*. Written as a fictive dialogue between Vasari and Duke Francesco I during a personal tour of the Palazzo Vecchio, the text describes the complex iconography of the Palazzo Vecchio’s decorative program. In it, Vasari is explicit about the allusions made regarding Duke Cosimo and his Duchy.<sup>100</sup>

Adjacent to the Room of the Elements, the Room of Ops was the third room in the *Quartiere degli Elementi* program.<sup>101</sup> Decorated from 1555 to 1557, Giorgio Vasari supervised the program and its execution. Like Pontormo’s lunette at Poggio a Caiano, the room illustrates the perpetuity of Medici rule through the cycles of time. More

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<sup>96</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 92.

<sup>97</sup> Kirwin, “Vasari’s Tondo of ‘Cosimo I with His Architects Engineers and Sculptors,’” 105.

<sup>98</sup> For Vasari’s identification of Ops with Eleonora see Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 138.

<sup>99</sup> See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8-9.

<sup>100</sup> Elizabeth McGrath, “‘Il Senso Nostro’: The Medici Allegory Applied to Vasari’s Mythological Frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio” in *Giorgio Vasari: tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, convegno di studi, Arezzo, 8-10 Oct., 1981 (1985), 117-134 argues that Vasari owes great credit to Cosimo Bartoli for the fresco narratives and that Vasari embellished the details of the narratives in the *Ragionamenti* after painting the frescoes.

<sup>101</sup> For a description and list of sources for the Room of Ops see Allegri-Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e I Medici*, 83-90.

specifically, it celebrates the fecundity of the Duchy through illustrations of the agricultural delights of the seasons. Painted by Vasari and his assistant Cristofano Gherardi, the central ceiling panel represents the agricultural goddess and goddess of the Earth, Ops with eight paintings surrounding her (Fig. 13). In the center of the ceiling, this panel foregrounds the theme of the room. With Ops, the goddess of the Earth and agriculture at its center, all of the other allegories and narrative motifs revolve around her. Displayed on each side of the goddess, four allegories personify the four seasons with four *putti* placed between each season. On the upper register of the walls, Marco Marchetti da Faenza painted a panel for each labor of the month with an accompanying zodiac symbol. Connecting with the pastoral motif of the wall and ceiling program, Vasari designed five tapestries that illustrated pastoral narratives alluding to Cosimo's Duchy. In each of these representations -- the allegories of the seasons, the months, and the tapestries -- agriculture is the unifying life force of the Duchy.

Connected to an entire room dedicated to Saturn labeled as the Room of the Elements, the Room of Ops, presents the goddess as a counterpart to her husband, the god of agriculture, Saturn. In Vasari's description of her, she is the omniscient 'mother of the gods' and 'mistress of everything' making her not only the protector of the Earth, but Earth itself. In the central ceiling panel, Ops sits on a lion-drawn chariot, an allusion to Florence. On her head she wears a crown of towers because she is the Earth and civilization is her accoutrement. Bare breasted, she wears a red and yellow garment with small golden leaves as ornamentation. In her left hand, she holds a scepter that grants her the power to bestow wealth to her faithful devotees. Vasari describes her as wearing a

dress made of flowers and branches; while his description is incorrect, through it, he chose to emphasize the goddess' ties to agriculture, the fruits of man's stewardship.

Flanking the central ceiling panel, Vasari's four panels representing the allegories of the seasons take Pontormo's lunette at Poggio a Caiano as their model. With the Room of Lorenzo the Magnificent located directly below the Room of Ops, it is no coincidence that the fresco panels on the ceiling reflect Pontormo's rustic figures at Lorenzo's villa.<sup>102</sup> Mimicking Pontormo's figures, their rustic nature alludes to Virgil's *Georgics* just as Pontormo's lunette. Hardened by the cold, the barefoot old man Vertumnus, representing Winter, reclines in front of a festoon of dried leaves and hearty winter vegetables (Fig. 14). Lying with her body facing left just as Pontormo's Pomona, the youthful allegory of Spring wears poppies in her hair (Fig. 15). Directly across from Winter, Summer rests on a cornucopia, a symbol of the summer harvest (Fig. 16). Similar to Pontormo's Autumn, Gherardi's Autumn is personified as a youthful bacchic male with grapevines in the panel's festoons (Fig. 17).<sup>103</sup>

Below the ceiling program, Marco da Faenza painted twelve oil panels recording the twelve labors of the month drawing heavily from Virgil's *Georgics*. Establishing a connection to Roman antiquity, Vasari employs the Roman calendar for his Labors of the Months.<sup>104</sup> The figures in these panels demonstrate civic order through each laborer's commitment to the land. As god of time, Saturn determines the agricultural cycle expressed by the farmer's labors illustrated in each panel.<sup>105</sup> In the *Georgics*, Virgil

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<sup>102</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 127.

<sup>103</sup> Ugo Muccini and Alessandro Cecchi, *The Apartments of Cosimo in Palazzo Vecchio*, intro. Antonio Paolucci, Photographs by Raffaello Bencini (Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1991) 69-75.

<sup>104</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 141. The portico frieze at Poggio a Caiano also portrays the Labors of the Months according to the Roman calendar. See Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 74.

<sup>105</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 69.

writes, “The farmer’s labor circles back on him as the seasons of the year roll back around to where they were and walk in their footsteps.”<sup>106</sup> Beginning the year with March, Faenza depicts March as a soldier linked with Mars, the god of war. Next, a cloaked shepherd with a fertile she-goat signifies April, while a man surrounded by a field of flowers represents May. In the time of Augustus, poets incorporated the Labors of the Months as a metaphor for peace.

In line with the metaphorical use of the Labors of the Month, Faenza’s paintings demonstrated a sense of communion between the laboring farmers and the gods that produced the seasonal harvests. In the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari acknowledges that the word, Ops means “help” or “aid.”<sup>107</sup> Rather than focusing on the aide of the goddess, Vasari explains that the word signifies Ops’ reliance on the farmers to cultivate the land in order to bear fruit. In this allegory of the goddess Ops, the seasons, and the farmers’ monthly labors, Vasari alludes to the symbiotic relationship, albeit largely a one-sided relationship between the Duke and his Tuscan people. While Cosimo’s ducal powers are represented through Ops, the farmers depicted in the wall panels of the Labors of the Month are his citizens. Therefore, they work together, feeding off of one another to produce the fruits of the Duchy.

Further supporting this allegory, a series of five tapestries, now lost once hung below Faenza’s panels. Vasari credits himself for the tapestry designs, while other sources attribute the design to the Flemish artist, Giovanni Stradano.<sup>108</sup> One tapestry in

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<sup>106</sup> Virgil, *The Georgics of Vergil*, 79. Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 74.

<sup>107</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 138.

<sup>108</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 149-150. See Alessandra Baroni Vannucci, “Il collaborazione con Giorgio Vasari: La decorazione degli appartamenti ducali in Palazzo Vecchio gli arazzi, gli affreschi, le tavole,” in *Jan Van der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano: flandrus pictor et inventor* (Milano e Roma: Jandi Sapi Editori S.r.l., 1997), 24-29.

particular is significant in its connection with the Boboli Garden. A tapestry of a grape harvest illustrates Cosimo as benefactor of the arts. The tapestry depicts a bacchanal where peasants drink wine and offer the products of their farming to the god Pan, the god of the villagers shown playing his panpipe.<sup>109</sup> In the distance, a second image of Pan chases the nymph Syrinx right before he changes her into marsh reeds.<sup>110</sup> But of course, there is a deeper meaning to this scene. Through his patronage, like Pan, Cosimo, as an active and participatory benefactor of the arts provides continuous music and enjoyment to the Florentines. Furthering this metaphor, Vasari equates Cosimo's group of artists to rustics and represents Cosimo as their leader.

Vasari's pastoral program inside the Room of Ops parallels Tribolo's pastoral program outside at the Boboli Garden behind the Pitti Palace. Drafted in 1550, construction on Tribolo's program for the northeastern side of the garden began prior to Giorgio Vasari's work on the iconographical program at the Palazzo Vecchio. As mentioned earlier, Vasari began installing a fishpond in accordance with Tribolo's plans in 1555. In the *Lives*, Vasari calls himself an admirer of Tribolo.<sup>111</sup> Vasari's supervision of the fishpond confirms his knowledge of the garden's pastoral program. In addition, this was the same year that he began work on the Room of Ops. It is no coincidence that some of the motifs identified in Tribolo's pastoral program bled into Vasari's narratives at the Room of Ops.

### **Cosimo's Arcadia at the Boboli Garden**

In 1549, on behalf of her husband, Duchess Eleonora di Toledo purchased the mid-fifteenth-century Pitti Palace and surrounding rocky hillside, all formerly owned by

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<sup>109</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 147-148.

<sup>110</sup> For Ovid's narrative of Pan and Syrinx see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 27-28.

<sup>111</sup> Vasari, *Lives*, Trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere, 230.

the Medici foe Luca Pitti.<sup>112</sup> Located on the south side of the Arno River, across from the city's urban center, the Boboli Garden hillside extended up to the Costa San Giorgio to the fourteenth-century city walls.<sup>113</sup> It was an ideal location for the Medici to entertain ambassadors and their aristocratic court. Providing the health benefits of a country villa, the Medici enjoyed fresh air, clean running water, and green space with the convenience of being within close proximity to the city's political center, the Palazzo Vecchio. Cosimo and Eleonora's acquisition of the suburban villa also publically asserted Cosimo's position as Grand Duke of not only of Florence, but also of Tuscany.

Having successfully distributed water at the Castello gardens, in 1550, Niccolò di Raffaello di Niccolò dei Pericoli, known as "il Tribolo" became the architect of the Boboli Garden (Fig. 18).<sup>114</sup> In his *Lives*, Giorgio Vasari discusses Tribolo's previous plans for the gardens at Castello. He claims that Tribolo drafted detailed topographical surveys of the villa property in order to locate potential water sources and engineer an effective pipe system. Based on his surveys, Tribolo laid pipes along the natural slopes of the villa property and surrounding landscape in order to maximize the flow of water to

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<sup>112</sup> For an excerpt from the purchase document dated February 3, 1549 for the Pitti Palace and surrounding property between Luca Pitti's family to Eleonora di Toledo see Francesco Gurrieri and Judith Chatfield, *Boboli Gardens* 19, n. 1. For a discussion of the Palazzo Pitti renovations and expansion in relation to Cosimo's patronage, see Henk Th. Van Veen, "The Uffizi and the Pitti." *Cosimo I de' Medici and His Self-Representation in Florence Art and Culture*, trans. Andrew P. McCormick, distributed by New York: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 81-92.

<sup>113</sup> Also a powerful banker in Florence, Pitti lost favor with the Medici after he conspired to assassinate Cosimo II Vecchio's son, Piero. While the Medici patriarch built his palace near the city center, Luca Pitti built his lavish country estate on the rural east bank of Florence. After Pitti's death in 1472, the place lay vacant until the Medici bought the property. No one wanted to purchase the palace for fear of being associated with Pitti's treason.

<sup>114</sup> For a comparative discussion on Tribolo's Castello Garden and Boboli Garden program see Claudio Pizzorusso, "Galileo in the Garden: Observations on the Sculptural Furnishings of Florentine Gardens between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *The Medici, Michelangelo, & Art of Late Renaissance Florence*, ed. Cristina Acidini Luchinat, ex. cat, The Detroit Institute for the Arts (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 113-122. For an in-depth study on the Castello gardens see David R. Wright, *The Medici Villa at Olmo a Castello: Its History and Iconography*, Ph.D. diss., 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1976).

the villa.<sup>115</sup> He likely did the same for the Boboli Garden. As his most ambitious commission, the Boboli Garden combined more water hydraulics, statuary, and agriculture than any other villa in Tuscany. The garden's formal geometrical layout and well-manicured grounds symbolized man's control over Nature and by extension Cosimo's authoritative control over the Duchy. Within the garden, Tribolo created two distinct artistic programs. The eastern side of the garden demonstrated Cosimo's supervision of the land while the main program in front of the palace celebrated his command of water. As Francesca Petrucci argues, the garden illustrated Cosimo's government over land and sea.<sup>116</sup>

Three months after the garden's construction began, however, Tribolo died on September 7, 1550.<sup>117</sup> Only rough preparatory paths and boundary lines had been marked into the ground.<sup>118</sup> By default, Cosimo appointed Tribolo's son, Davide di Raffaello Fortini as head supervisor responsible for the laying of Tribolo's water system and for the supervision of the garden's artistic program.<sup>119</sup> In a letter to his majordomo, dated September 27, 1550, Cosimo requested that "all of the drawings of the Pitti garden and all the instructions left by poor Tribolo," be collected "so that [Cosimo and Davide Fortini] may give the order to finish planting it."<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives*, Trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere, 235-245 for a description on Tribolo's work on the conduits and aqueducts that carried water to the villa at Castello. See Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto, *Medici Gardens: From Making to Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 146-161, for a discussion of Tribolo's meticulous draftsmanship and landscape architectural practices.

<sup>116</sup> Francesca Petrucci, "Un nuovo regno d'Arcadia a Firenze," in *Niccolò detto il Tribolo tra arte, architettura e paesaggio*. eds. Elisabetta Pieri and Luigi Zangheri. Ex. cat. (Poggio a Caiano, Italy: Comune di Poggio a Caiano, 2001), 127-135. Petrucci was the first to argue the northeastern program as a representation of Pan's Arcadia.

<sup>117</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives*, Trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere, 254-255.

<sup>118</sup> Litta Maria Medri, "Il Cinquecento. Le sculture e le fontane. Allegorie mitologiche e "Villani", 108.

<sup>119</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the dichotomy between Tribolo's land and water artistic programs at the Boboli Garden see Petrucci, "Un nuovo regno d'Arcadia a Firenze," 127.

<sup>120</sup> Rescript of Cosimo I on a letter from Pierfrancesco Riccio in ASF, MDP 616, ins. 6, p. 119, trans. by D.R. Wright in D. R. Wright, "The Boboli Garden in the Evolution of European Garden Design: A Study in

With water as its unifying feature, the Boboli Garden commemorated Cosimo I de' Medici's restoration of the Augustan aqueducts as well as the new conduits that directed water into Florence.<sup>121</sup> Prior to the restoration project, potable water came primarily from wells or from the Arno River.<sup>122</sup> Yet the ancient aqueduct restoration project was more symbolic than it was functional. It connected the Duke's reign with a Republican past. The program was commemorated in a bronze medal (1566-1567) designed by Pietro Paolo Galeotti for the unveiling of Bartolomeo Ammannati's *Neptune Fountain* (Fig. 19).<sup>123</sup>

Through a new conduit made of brick, water filtered down from the country through the Boboli Gardens. With large basins dispersed throughout the grounds, the Boboli Garden functioned as a water reserve for the city. In 1553, construction began on an aqueduct that channeled water from beyond the Porta a San Giorgio down to the fountain at the Boboli Garden's *prato grande* as it entered the garden from the southeast wall.<sup>124</sup> Visible in Uten's lunette of the Pitti Palace, towards the top of the hill, a large square retention pool collected water for the fountains in the garden as well as for the city. The water from the retention pool fed fountains dispersed from a long central vertical axis connecting the back of the property to the palace. Once water flowed down

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Practical Function and Organizing Structure," in *Boboli 90*, 311. The location of these drawings, Tribolo's plans for the Boboli Garden, is unknown.

<sup>121</sup> For a detailed history of the development of the Florentine water system, see Felicia Marlene Else, "On Aqueducts," *Water and Stone: Ammannati's Neptune Fountain as Public Ornament*, Ph.D. diss. (St. Louis, MO: Washington University, May 2003), 190-268. See also Emanuela Ferretti, "Dalle sorgenti alle fontane: Cosimo I e l'acquedotto di Firenze" in *L'Acqua, La Pietra, Il Fuoco: Bartolomeo Ammannati Scultore*, ed. Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos, ex. cat. (Firenze e Milano: Giunti Editore S.p.A., 2011), 263-275.

<sup>122</sup> Else, *Water and Stone*, 215-216.

<sup>123</sup> See *Ibid*, 190 for a discussion of the arcade featured on the medal and its relationship to Ammannati's fountain.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 246-247. A payment document in the ASF records the aqueduct commission: "Ope a cavar la fossa per murare l'acquedotto fuor della Porta a San Giorgio e condurre l'acqua sul prato del giardino detto de'Pitti" in Gurrieri and Chatfield, *Boboli Gardens*, 74.

to the palace, it then traveled into the city where it fed Ammannati's *Fountain of Neptune* outside of the Palazzo Vecchio. In 1554, payment documents show construction on this new aqueduct that channeled water from the Boboli Garden to the Palazzo Vecchio through a canal along the Ponte Vecchio.<sup>125</sup>

In Oltrano, separated from the city by the Arno River, the Boboli Garden was a gateway between the city and countryside. For Giorgio Vasari, the fresh running water of Cosimo's aqueduct restoration and conduits, water symbolized the "love and fidelity" of Cosimo's *buon governo*.<sup>126</sup> Just below the retention pool, as shown in Uten's painting, a large amphitheatre was the centerpiece of the entire garden. The amphitheater replicated an Arcadia untouched by time. Square plots of cypresses, laurels, and oak trees radiated out from the large grassy *prato grande*, an exhibition space for sporting events and theatrical productions. Its slanted U-shape hill and grassy arena alluded to the ancient Roman circuses.<sup>127</sup> At the center of the amphitheater is Giambologna's statue of *Oceanus* (Fig. 20).<sup>128</sup> The sea statue stood above a granite *tazza*, chosen by Tribolo, where it collected all of the remaining water that descended from the top of the Boboli hill.<sup>129</sup> Oceanus, a Roman personification of the great river of the Earth monumentalized

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<sup>125</sup> For payment documents regarding the aqueduct see November 26, 1554-March 2, 1555, ASF, Fabbriche Medicee 2, cc. 101 v., 103 r; cc. 97 r; 113 r; cc. 107 v.-109 r., 113 r., 114 v.-115r in Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e I Medici: Guida storica* (Firenze: Studio per Edizione Scelte, 1980), 221-222. For a discussion of the aqueducts construction see Else, *Water and Stone*, 247-249.

<sup>126</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 9.

<sup>127</sup> In the 1560s, Bartolommeo Ammannati took over the supervision of the amphitheater. See Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 190-196; Gurrieri and Chatfield, *Boboli Gardens*, 45-46; Medri, "Il Cinquecento", 108-110, for details on the amphitheatre. In 1599, stone seating and an architectural wall of niches were built into the natural landscape of the amphitheater.

<sup>128</sup> See Malcolm Campbell, "Giambologna's Oceanus Fountain: Identifications and Interpretations," in *Boboli 90*, 89-106, for information on the Oceanus fountain.

<sup>129</sup> Tribolo was transporting the marble for this basin when he died. See Medri "Il cinquecento..." 108-110.

Cosimo's water restoration program.<sup>130</sup> As a metaphor for Cosimo's rule, Giambologna's *Oceanus* represented Cosimo's world dominance and authority within his *cosmos*. His identity as god of the sea was a common theme in his patronage. Cosimo also commissioned Stoldo Lorenzi's *Fountain of Neptune* (1566-74) located in the upper portion of the garden and Bartolomeo Ammannati's *Fountain of Neptune* (1560-65) in the governmental Piazza della Signoria (Fig. 21).

Separated by a line of trees on the northeast side, a second artistic program was a living Arcadia inspired by Jacopo Sannazaro's eclogues.<sup>131</sup> Guarded by "Pan Medicus", the program of grottos, fountain statues, rare fruits and flora exhibited the seasons' harvest. As evident in Vasari's detailed explication of the Palazzo Vecchio's decorations in his *Ragionamenti*, an iconographic program that visualized Medici ideals through literary themes should come as no surprise. Here, in the Boboli Gardens, it is the pastoral Golden Age as described in Virgil's *Eclogue IV* and all it can be made to imply about the Duchy and its ruler, Cosimo. In Vasari's discussion of the grape harvest tapestry for the Room of Ops, Vasari associates Cosimo with the savage Arcadian god.<sup>132</sup> Similarly, the northeast garden and grotto used Pan and the denizens of his groves to illustrate Cosimo's stewardship of the land and celebrated the fertility of his Duchy. Begun by the Duchess, this garden and grotto was the first program to be developed. In 1550, Eleonora

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<sup>130</sup> The commission for the *Oceanus* statue was originally given to Baccio Bandinelli and later reassigned to Giambologna. See Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 194 n. 8, for a discussion and list of sources documenting the commission's change of hand.

<sup>131</sup> Petrucci, "Un nuovo regno d'Arcadia a Firenze," 130. Gurrieri & Chatfield, *Boboli Gardens*, 73. While not located in the northeast area, gardeners built a thrushery stocked with birds and small animals for hunting on top of the hill in 1554 contributing to Tribolo's Arcadian theme. See Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Gardens*, Appendix IIB for a chronology of the Boboli Garden in the Sixteenth Century. For information and bibliography on Stoldo Lorenzi's *Fountain of Neptune*, see Maura Chiavacci, "Fontana di Nettuno," in *Il giardino di Boboli*, 190. For a discussion on Ammannati's *Fountain of Neptune* and list of references, see Else, "Biancone: Life of a Colossus," in *Water and Stone*, 14-110, especially 56 for period of Ammannati's commissioned work.

<sup>132</sup> Draper, *Vasari's Decoration in the Palazzo Vecchio*, 149-150.

purchased neighboring farmland, extending the Boboli Garden's eastern property line.<sup>133</sup> From 1561 to 1562, gardeners lined the avenue connecting Vasari's fishpond and the palace with orange trees. From 1549 to 1555, Batista di Marco del Tasso planted juniper, moscadello grape vines, and other plants from 1549 to 1555.<sup>134</sup> Gardeners also planted 1000 asparagus and saffron crocus in 1563.<sup>135</sup>

Tucked into the border of the northeastern garden wall, there was a small grotto designed as a rustic temple called the *Grotta di Madama*, also known as the *Grotticina* (Fig. 22). Commissioned by Eleonora, a coat of arms over the doorway, no longer visible, marked the union of Cosimo and Eleonora. Rough stalactites and coral grow out of the doorframe and around the portico walls as if the grotto is a part of the natural landscape or else so old that it could be imagined as dating back to antiquity (Fig. 23).<sup>136</sup> As a whole, its outer appearance recalls the Arcadian temple dedicated to Pan in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.<sup>137</sup>

A drawing by Tribolo, dated 1548 to 1549 demonstrates that he planned a fountain dedicated to Pan (Fig. 24). Its placement on top of a basin with a Capricorn identifies the program as part of Cosimo's patronage.<sup>138</sup> This drawing illustrates a

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<sup>133</sup> For the May 1550 purchase document for the farm of Bogoli see ASF, Conventi Soppressi, n. 83, 102, c. 54 in Rinaldi, "Quattro pitaffi senza le lettere," 19-30, for a discussion on the purchase of the farmland and incorporation of the water pipe system for the eastern side of the Boboli Garden.

<sup>134</sup> R. Bencini, "Il giardino di Boboli nel Cinquecento: contributo documentario" in *La Città effimera e l'universo artificiale del giardino: La Firenze di Medici e l'Italia del 500*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1979 (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1980), 218, n. 10 and 219, n. 11.

<sup>135</sup> Bartolommeo Ammannati to the Duke, 6 Nov. 1563, ASF, Mediceo del Principato in Gurrieri & Chatfield, *Boboli Gardens*, 71-72.

<sup>136</sup> As Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 200 noted, this exterior is very similar to Tribolo's grottoes at Villa Castello.

<sup>137</sup> Petrucci, "Un nuovo regno d'Arcadia a Firenze," 130-131.

<sup>138</sup> Depicted as a goat with a fishtail, the Capricorn was a royal zodiacal sign associated with many great rulers. As telltale symbol of success, the Capricorn tied Cosimo to a long history of esteemed rulers. Highly publicized by each ruler, it was the ascendant of Emperor Augustus, Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, and Lorenzo the Magnificent. For a discussion on the association of the Capricorn with the above mentioned rulers see, Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 214. Cosimo's baptismal record cited that he

sculptural program meant for a rustic grotto at Cosimo's villa at Castello, which was never realized.<sup>139</sup> At Castello, the fountain was to be included in a grotto covered with stalactites that intersected a retention wall at the bottom of a forested area, resembling the bottom of a mountain. Inside the grotto, Tribolo built three niches with a large basin placed in each niche. Based on the Pan fountain drawing and others, one niche was to be dedicated to Pan, god of land, and another to Neptune, god of sea. The design for the third niche is unknown.<sup>140</sup>

Tribolo's design for the fountain of Pan borrows directly from Jacopo Sanazzaro's *Arcadia* (1504). In Chapter 10, Sannazaro describes a rustic grotto dedicated to Pan located at the bottom of a stony mountain. Inside, the protagonist discovers an altar made from the surrounding stone made by devoted shepherds. Above the altar was a large wooden sculpture of Pan. Sannazaro describes this representation as having:

...two horns, very straight and pointed toward heaven; with his face as ruddy as the ripened strawberry, his legs and feet covered with hair and of no other shape than are those of goats; his mantle consisted of a very large skin, bestarred with white spots.<sup>141</sup>

Housed in a grotto-like cave, Tribolo's Pan with two horns and the legs of a goat reflects Sannazaro's description. Cloaked with a mantle, enthroned above a fountain spout, the rustic god reaches back with his left hand for the beautiful panpipes made from Syrinx. In

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was born on June 12, a day later than the famed natal horoscope making the Capricorn his zodiacal sign. See Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, Appendix I, 295, for a full discussion on the discrepancy of Cosimo's birthdate.

<sup>139</sup> See Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 179-181. Tribolo laid the pipes and built the niches before his death in 1550. Under Francesco I, Vasari supervised the construction of a new design for the grotto, now referred to as *Grotto of the Animals* from 1565 to 1572. With the help of Giambologna and Antonio di Gino Lorenzi, he filled the three niches with a menagerie of animals. See Lazzaro, Appendix IIA; David Wright, *The Medici Villa at Olmo a Castello: Its History and Iconography*, Ph.D. diss., 2 vols. (Princeton University, 1976), I, 202-207; Vasari, *Lives*, Trans. by Gaston du C. De Vere, II, 237; Letter from Giambologna to Francesco, 1567 in G. Gaye, ed. *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1837-40), III, 246; Wiles, *The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors*, 75 and 127.

<sup>140</sup> Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 178-181.

<sup>141</sup> Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, 102.

Sannazaro's tale, the panpipe refers to a much older myth as told by Ovid. It is the same narrative that Vasari discusses in his description of the grape harvest tapestry.<sup>142</sup>

Based on Tribolo's drawing of Pan for Castello that he drafted while simultaneously working on plans for the Boboli Garden, it is conceivable that Tribolo planned for a similar grotto at the Boboli Garden. Knowing of his pairing of Pan and Neptune inside Castello's grotto, this assumption gains credibility when one sees the dichotomy between Tribolo's sea program and land program at the Boboli Garden. Arguably, with its rustic exterior, Eleonora's *Grotticina* was originally designed as a rustic temple to Pan.

After Tribolo's death, Eleonora awarded the *Grotticina* commission to Baccio Bandinelli. Although Bandinelli prepared the designs, his student, Giovanni di Paolo Fancelli supervised the construction and carried out the sculptural decorations from 1553 to 1555.<sup>143</sup> In September of 1554, Fancelli supervised work on the grotto's ceiling and laid the red and black marble floor.<sup>144</sup> On the ceiling, Francesco Bachiacca frescoed colorful grotesques with *putti* (Fig. 25). Along the surrounding walls, Fancelli embedded classical architectural ornamentation into the coral-like stucco walls. Four niches with a classical shell motif flanked the archway of the central sculptural program.

Placed inside a niche framed by a large arch, Bandinelli's sculptural program emphasized the fecundity of the Duchy as well as the fertility of Duchess Eleonora.<sup>145</sup> As water descended from a ram's head at the apex, the program formed a triangular composition. This ram alluded to the city of Florence's zodiacal sign, Aries, signifying

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<sup>142</sup> Sannazaro, *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, 103; Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 149-150.

<sup>143</sup> See payment document listed in n. 6.

<sup>144</sup> Gurrieri and Chatfield, *Boboli Garden*, 24.

<sup>145</sup> See Edelstein, "La *fecundissima Signora Duchessa*," 92-97 for a discussion regarding the conflation of the fertility of the Tuscan countryside and Duchess Eleonora..

the prosperity of Florence as water spurted from its mouth.<sup>146</sup> Below, two male goats stood on tree branches to either side of the ram, conveying their allegiance to the ram with their upward glances. Listed in the payment document as ‘*dui chapricorni*,’ the two goats represent the Duke’s zodiacal sign, the Capricorn.<sup>147</sup> It is also possible that the two goats represent Cosimo’s sons and future heirs to the ducal throne, Francesco I and Ferdinando I.<sup>148</sup>

Located directly under the ram is a she-goat with swollen udders surrounded by two small *putti* with dolphins. This she-goat represents Amalthea, the nymph or goat that nurtured Zeus. Ovid’s version of this tale had been previously represented in the second panel of the portico frieze of the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano.<sup>149</sup> Vasari also illustrates this narrative in the Room of Jove at the Palazzo Vecchio. In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, Saturn’s wife, Ops, the goddess of the Earth rescues Jove, often linked with Francesco I, from his father Saturn by replacing Jove with a stone. To avoid being eaten, Ops hides Jove in a cave with the she-goat with swollen udders called Amalthea who is surrounded by bees. Together the bees and Amalthea provide Jove nourishment.<sup>150</sup>

As water spouts down from the ram into the basin where the she-goat stood, the active water also symbolizes the perpetuity of the Medici dynasty. Cosimo’s son, Francesco I was born on March 25, 1541, the first day of the Florentine year, granting him the zodiacal sign, Aries.<sup>151</sup> In a broader context, the *Grozzicina* marks the return of

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<sup>146</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 163. Vasari and Giovanni Stradano also painted Ram symbol over his fresco in the *Salone dei Cinquecento* from 1563-65.

<sup>147</sup> See the September 15, 1554 payment document in Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court*, Doc. 1029.

<sup>148</sup> Edelstein, “*La fecundissima Signora Duchessa*,” 92-95.

<sup>149</sup> Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 71.

<sup>150</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 164-165.

<sup>151</sup> Egnatio Danti, *Trattato dell’uso et della fabbrica dell’astrolabio di F. Egnatio Danti* (Florence, 1569) 119: “Adi 25 di Marzo l’anno 1541 a ho. 11 e m. 14 di Horiolo che sono ho. 17 e mi. 37 dopò il mezzo del

the Golden Age, or more specifically Lorenzo's motto, *Le temps revient*. In support of this claim, Bandinelli's she-goat conjures up the imagery in Virgil's Messianic eclogue, *Eclogue IV*. In this eclogue, Virgil wrote:

But newborn boy, for you, these presents shall pour fourth—...  
All by themselves, the goats shall bring milk-swollen udders  
Home, and herds faced with mighty lions shall not shudder.<sup>152</sup>

By alluding to this quotation, Bandinelli connects the grotto with antiquity.

Both Vasari and Bandinelli refer to Virgil's messianic *Eclogue IV* linking Cosimo to the Republican past of Emperor Augustus.<sup>153</sup> As discussed, in *Eclogue IV*, Virgil prophesies the return of the Golden Age of Saturn through the birth of a young leader blessed by the gods. This eclogue is often linked to Augustus' rise to power. By restoring Rome's peace and prosperity during the *Pax Romana*, Augustus fulfilled Virgil's prophecy. Bandinelli's sculptural program for the *Grotticina* may be seen as representation of this prophecy. Only in this instance, Bandinelli identifies Cosimo and his heirs as the leaders of the Golden Age of Florence. It is clear that the interior of the grotto, completed by Bandinelli, was transformed from the cave of Pan to the place where Zeus was sustained and, implicitly, where the Medici dynasty was preserved. The garden that leads to the grotto, however, was conceived as part of the earlier program. It is there where Bandinelli's *Villano* was initially installed.

The interplay between Bandinelli's *Villano* and Tribolo's rustic plans for the *Grotticina* reflect the same narrative as the grape harvest tapestry in the Room of Ops. In Vasari's interpretation of the tapestry, he suggests that the peasants were responsible for

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precedente giorno di Lunedì nel hora del Sole che appunto ascendeva il 14 gr. dell'Ariete, essendo il Sole in esso Ariete à gr. 14. M. 15. 33. Secondi."

<sup>152</sup> Virgil, *Virgil's Eclogues*, 31-32.

<sup>153</sup> In his commentary, Servius interprets Virgil's *Eclogue IV* as an allusion to Emperor Augustus. Conceivably, based on the popularity of Servius' commentaries in the Renaissance, this was an accepted belief in the Renaissance. Schmidt, "Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity," 75.

cultivating the Earth and providing the fruits of their labor to Cosimo each season. And indeed, within the northeastern section of the Boboli Garden, laborers provided Cosimo and his family with the seasonal produce found in their garden. Bandinelli's *Villano* with his barrel of wine overflowing reminded the Medici family of the symbiotic relationship between themselves and their devoted laborers.

In the context of the garden's pastoral program, it is significant that the *Villano* held a barrel of wine. Associated with a bacchanal, wine as an agent of mirth was a necessary agricultural product in Pan's Arcadia. In Sannazaro's Arcadia, satyrs often carried wine. Acknowledging this trend, Anthea Brook suggests that Bandinelli modeled his peasant after an antique statue of *Silenos pouring wine* (Fig. 26). The *Silenos* Brook cites was part of Cardinal Cesi's antiquities collection at the Villa Albani. Like the *Silenos*, the *Villano* stood with his leg resting on a tree-stump to support his barrel. Bandinelli converted the wineskin into a barrel and the satyr into a *villano*, connecting the statue with the pastoral trope of Arcadia. Supporting Brook's claim, Bandinelli's statue was fixed to an antique green marble basin. Like many antique garden statues, in the Cesi collection, the *Silenos* was set on top of an ancient basin, in this case the Torlonia Bowl. Bandinelli placed his statue in the same manner over the large green marble basin of Vasari's fishpond.<sup>154</sup>

Quoting the ancient satyr's form, the *Villano* mimics the pose of one of Pan's devoted satyrs, strengthening the identification of the *Villano* as one of Pan's followers.

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<sup>154</sup> Brook, "Sixteenth Century 'Genre' Statuary," 119 and n. 22. Brook suggests that Bandinelli may have used a print for inspiration since his sculpture's composition is the verso of the actual Hellenistic *Silenos*. MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers* displays an engraving of a satyr with a wine sack at the Villa Albani. Lazzaro gives an alternative interpretation. Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 200, offers an alternative interpretation. Lazzaro identified the *Villano* as a modern conceit of Oceanus on a dolphin, a satirical earthly foil to Bandinelli's design for the Oceanus fountain at the garden.

Furthering this claim, Claudia Lazzaro notes that the peasant has a “proud” look on his face as his head turns upward and to the side.<sup>155</sup> Sculptors usually reserved this type of distinguished facial expression for a person of elevated status. This detail reveals that the peasant represents more than just one of Virgil’s farmers from his *Georgics*. In the Arcadian allegory at the Boboli Garden, the *Villano* represents a member of Cosimo’s artistic court. Through their labors, Cosimo’s court of artists turned water into proverbial wine. Their elaborate pastoral art celebrated the Duke’s political accomplishments in Tuscany and his granducal aspirations. Recognizing their merits through portraiture, Cosimo immortalized the painters, architects, sculptors, and engineers of his artistic court at the Palazzo Vecchio. As Vasari reminds the viewer in his discussion of the grape harvest tapestry:

Those who are crude he refines; and he gives those who perform skillfully in his state the dignities and offices of the city in those very arts which he transformed anew from the rustic and countrified into expressions of his nation’s polished culture.<sup>156</sup>

With Vasari as supervisor of the fishpond project, Bandinelli’s *Villano* designed for the fishpond most certainly reflects this concept. Crude in his appearance, the peasant statue is one of Pan’s villagers as a metaphor of Cosimo’s court of artists. In the garden, Cosimo represents himself as Pan and his artists as rustics. In the Palazzo Vecchio, with a refined appearance they surround him in *Cosimo I with his Architects, Engineers and Sculptors* in celebration of their distinguished governmental titles.

### **Conclusion**

Cosimo and his court of artists portrayed the Duke as ruler of Tuscany. Looking out from the balcony of the Pitti Palace, the Duke’s commissioned garden revealed the

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<sup>155</sup> Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 200.

<sup>156</sup> Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 150.

power of his ducal authority demonstrating his control over the city and countryside. Extending up to the city's fourteenth-century walls, the suburban villa was the gateway between the urban environment of Florence and the newly acquired territories of the *contado*. With a corridor linking the Palazzo Vecchio to the Pitti Palace, the Boboli Garden, conveniently located within the city walls provided health benefits typically limited to a villa lifestyle. Channeled down from the Duchy's Tuscan territory, the main conduit of the city's water ran through the Boboli Garden before entering the city; the running water established a visible connection between the city and country land. Pouring out of the garden's fountains and grottos, the water system illustrated Cosimo's command over the *cosmos*. The northeastern pastoral program demonstrated his authority over the land; the garden layout surrounding Giambologna's *Oceanus* celebrated his command over the sea.<sup>157</sup>

The Boboli Garden was emblematic of Cosimo's *buon governo* in Florence and throughout the ducal countryside. His extension of political rights to the Tuscan territories made it easier for the Duke to improve the city's trade relations and direct water from the countryside into the city. The abundance of clean water and agriculture made available to Florentines was evidence of the Duke's ongoing generosity. Outside, in the gardens themselves, Cosimo's commissioned artistic program highlighted these improvements through large open green spaces, a variety of crops, and pure free-flowing water. Signified by Bandinelli's she-goat inside the *Grotticina*, the surrounding land was fertile with seasonal produce and rare plant species. The luxuries within the garden

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<sup>157</sup> Petrucci, "Un nuovo regno d'Arcadia a Firenze," 127-135.

exhibited the wealth cultivated by Duke Cosimo's government. The Boboli Garden was a living Arcadia fit for the pleasure of the ancients.

The wealth exhibited by the suburban villa property rivaled that which sixteenth-century Italy believed existed during the Golden Age of Augustus. Just as Virgil praised Emperor Augustus in the *Aeneid*, Sebastiano Sanleolini, author of *Serenissimi Cosmi Medycis primi hetruriae magni ducis actiones* (1578), identified Cosimo with the ranks of great imperators by the splendor of his property:

To the Palazzo Pitti, built as the most beautiful of all European palaces by Cosimo the Great. Phoebus, who sees everything, spotting from the skies the royal building of the Pitti palace worthy of Daedalos, stops in his tracks: and once the axis of the Quadriga stands still, he speaks astonished from the peak of the towering building: "The Pyramids lose in comparison: Amphion's fortifications dwindle in significance: Our harped-on Pergamon [Troy?] pales compared to this:..."<sup>158</sup>

Cosimo's Boboli Garden reflected his imperial ambition. As foreshadowed by this artistic program, Cosimo did indeed solidify Florence's precedence over Ferrara in diplomatic ceremonies. In August 1569, Pope Pius V granted Cosimo the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany with the approval of Emperor Maximilian II.<sup>159</sup> By 1569, the Pitti Palace was a true suburban villa that marked Cosimo's granducal achievement.

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<sup>158</sup> Sebastiano Sanleolini, *Serenissimi Cosmi Medycis primi hetruriae magni ducis actiones* (Florence, 1578), 34 v. I trans. in Galdy, 31. The original Latin is listed in n. 12. Sebastiano Sanleolini was a literary figure who dedicated his book to Duke Francesco I de' Medici. He called the Pitti Palace, the most noteworthy achievement during Cosimo's reign.

<sup>159</sup> Williams, "The Sala Grande in the Palazzo Vecchio," 165-167.

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## FIGURES



Figure 1: Baccio Bandinelli and Giovanni Fancelli, *Villano*, 1555-1558, Boboli Garden, Florence.

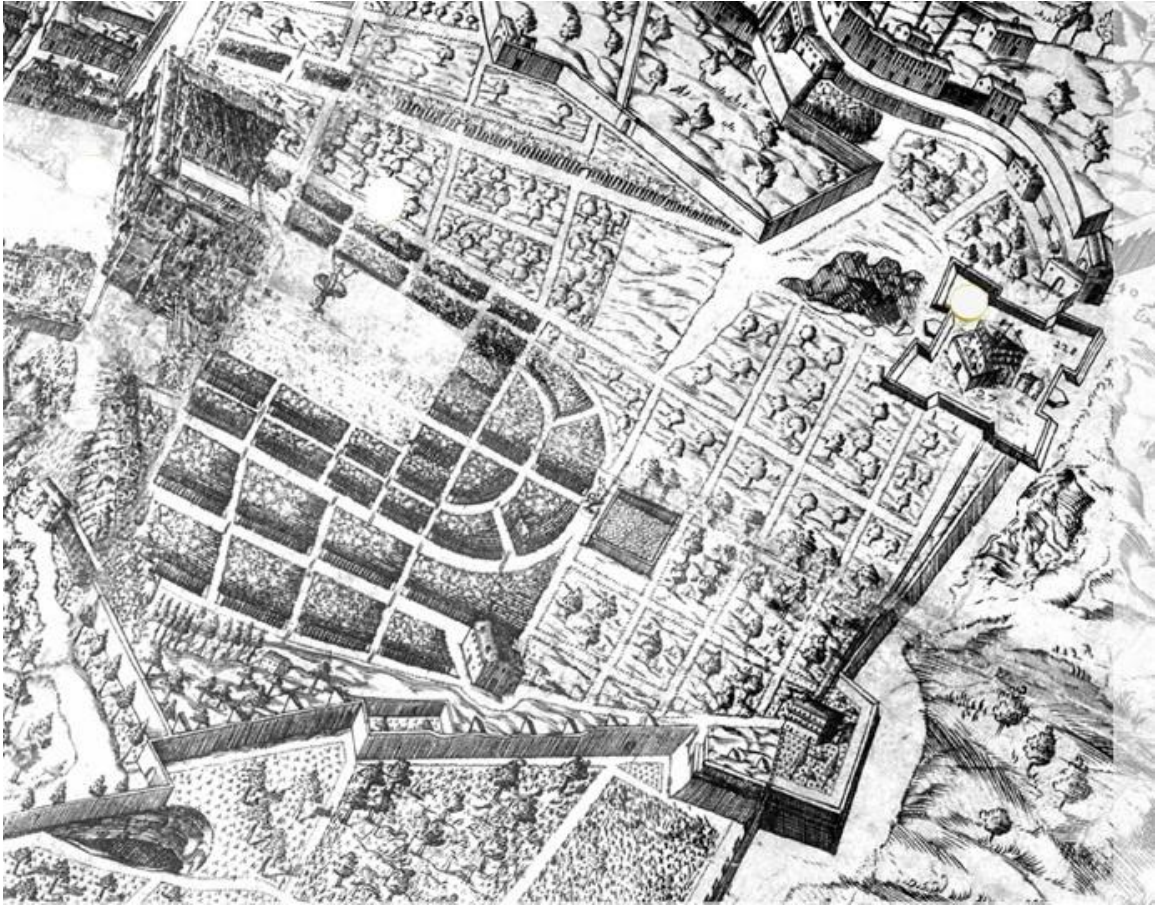


Figure 2: Stefano Buonsignori, detail of the Pitti Palace and Boboli Garden, *Nova pulcherrimae civitatis Florentiae topographi accuratissime delineata*, 1584, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

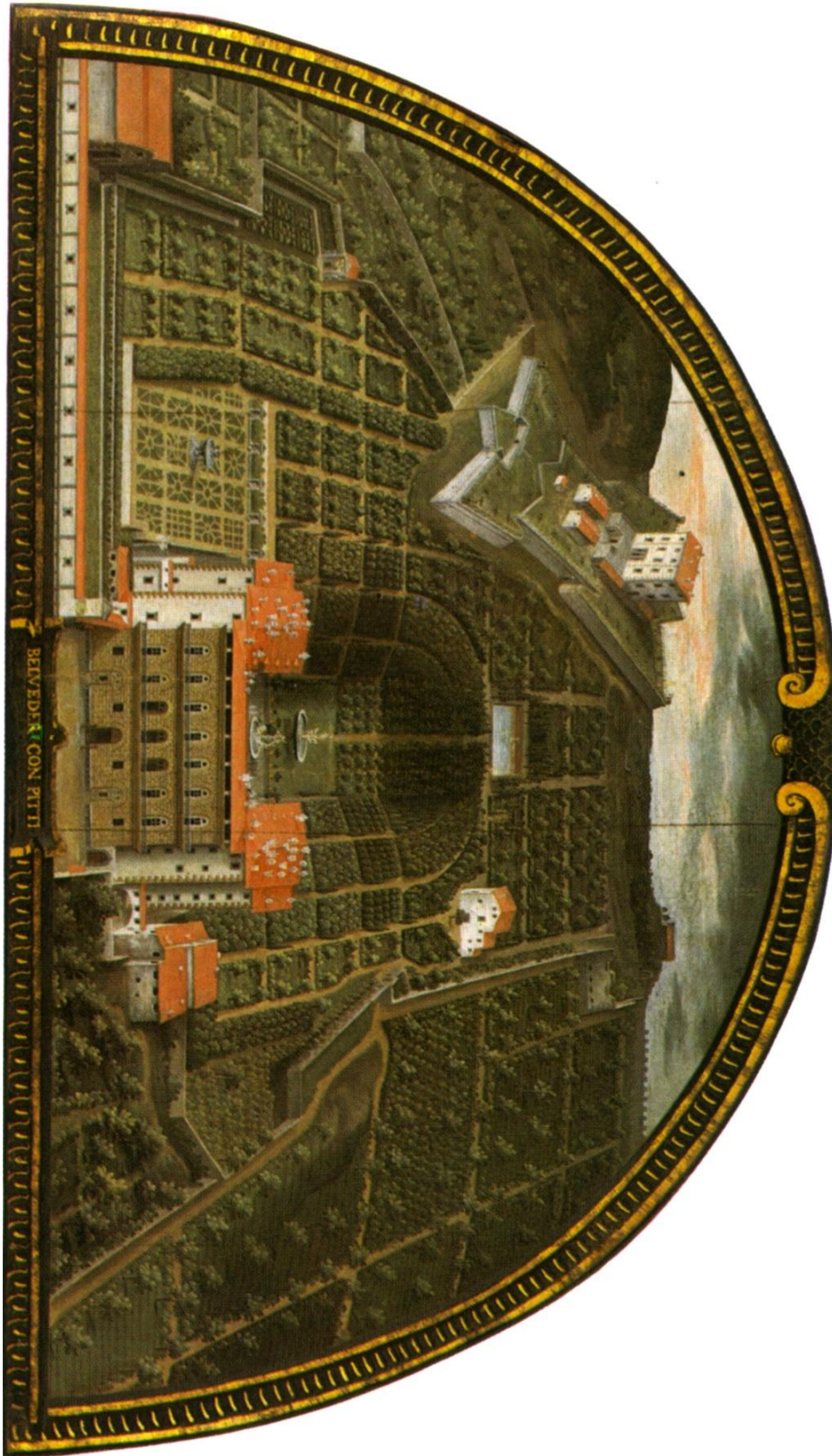


Figure 3: Giusto Utens, *Pitti Palace*, 1599, Museo di Firenze com-era, Florence.



Figure 4: View from the northeast corner of the path leading up to Baccio Bandinelli's *Grotticina*, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 5: Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.



Figure 6: Giovanni Stradano, *The Arrival of Eleonora of Toledo at Poggio a Caiano*, Room of Cosimo I, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.



Figure 7: Baccio Bandinelli and Giovanni Fancelli, detail of feet and base, *Villano*, 1555-1558, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 8: Giorgio Vasari and Bernardo Buontalenti, Interior view, *Grotta Grande*, 1556-1560; 1583-1593, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 9: Baccio Bandinelli and Giovanni Fancelli, detail of head, *Villano*, 1555-1558, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 10: Unknown, *Villano*, H 0, 38 m, Hellenistic, allegedly found in Ravenna, Italy, now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut.



Figure 11: Giorgio Vasari, *Cosimo I with his Architects, Engineers and Sculptors*, 1557-1563, Room of Cosimo I, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

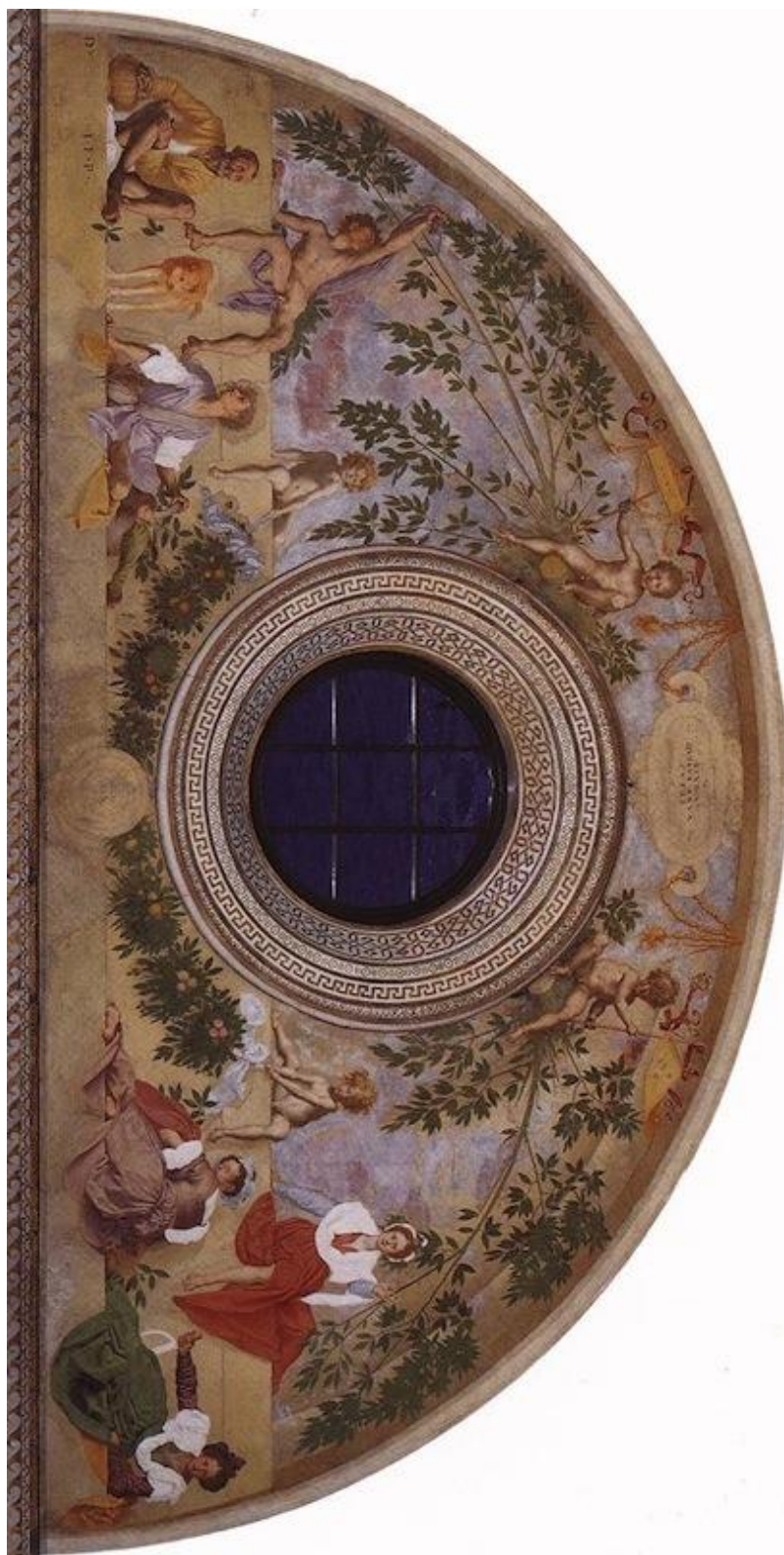


Figure 12: Jacopo Pontormo, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1521, Salone, Villa at Poggio a Caiano, Poggio a Caiano.



Figure 13: Giorgio Vasari and Cristofano Gherardi, *The Goddess Ops*, 1555-1557, Room of Ops, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.



Figure 14: Cristofano Gherardi, *Winter*, 1555-1557, Room of Ops, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.



Figure 15: Cristofano Gherardi, *Spring*, 1555-1557, Room of Ops, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.



Figure 16: Cristofano Gherardi, *Summer*, 1555-1557, Room of Ops, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.



Figure 17: Cristofano Gherardi, *Autumn*, 1555-1557, Room of Ops, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

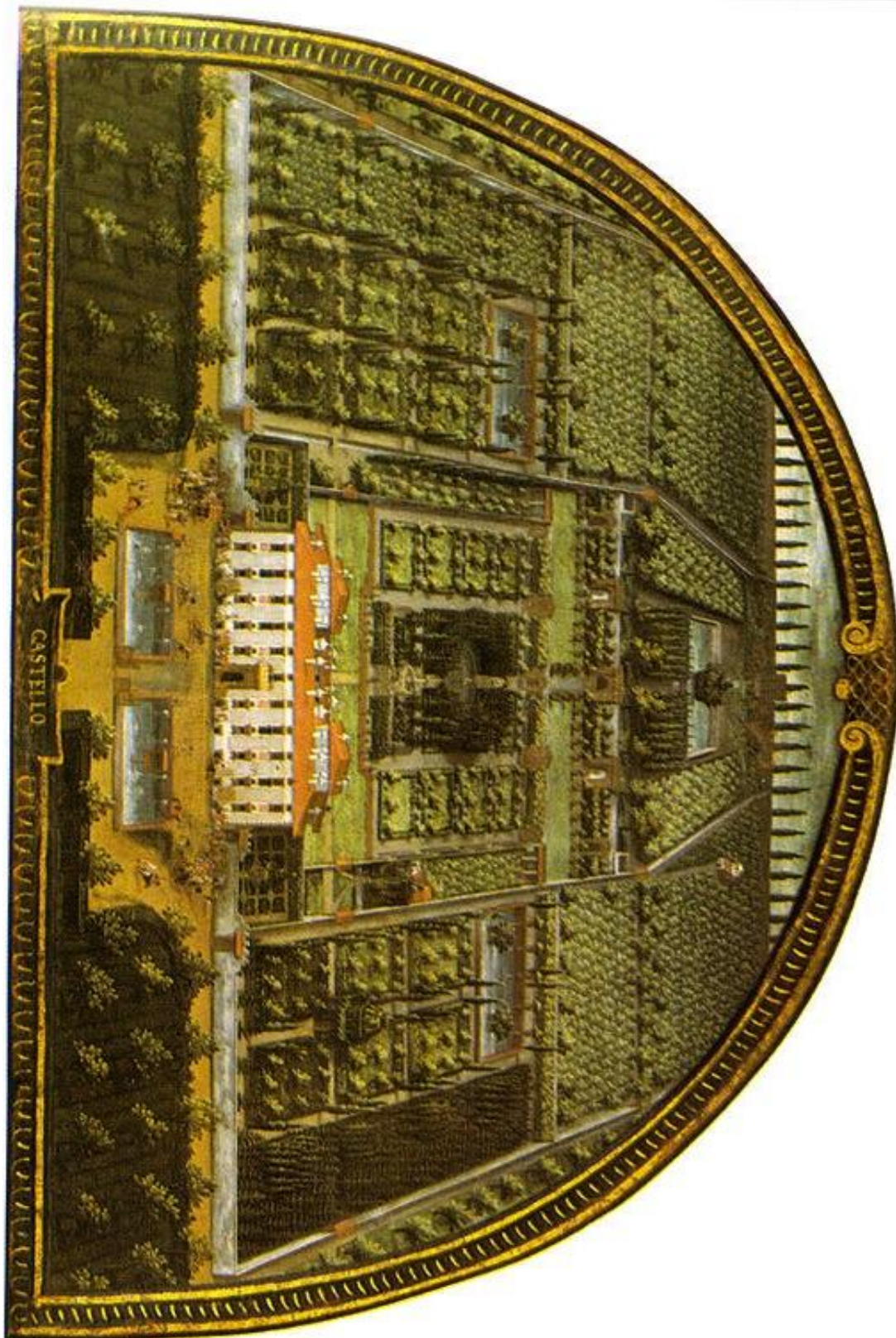


Figure 18: Giusto Utens, *Castello*, 1599, Museo di Firenze com-era, Florence.



Figure 19: Bartolomeo Ammannati, *Neptune Fountain*, 1560-1565, Piazza della Signoria, Florence.



Figure 20: Giambologna, *Fountain of Oceanus*, c. 1572, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 21: Stoldo Lorenzi, *Fountain of Neptune*, 1566-1574, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 22: Baccio Bandinelli and Giovanni Fancelli, *Grotticina*, 1553-1555, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 23: Baccio Bandinelli and Giovanni Fancelli, pediment of the *Grotticina*, c. 1554, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 24: Niccolò Tribolo, Design for a wall fountain with Pan for the Grotto at Castello, ca. 1548-49, Sir John Soane's Museum.



Figure 25: Giovanni Fancelli and Francesco Bachiacca, detail of the ceiling, *Grotticina*, 1554-1555, Boboli Garden, Florence.



Figure 26: Unknown, *Silenos pouring wine*, Late Hellenistic or Roman?, Villa Albani, Rome.